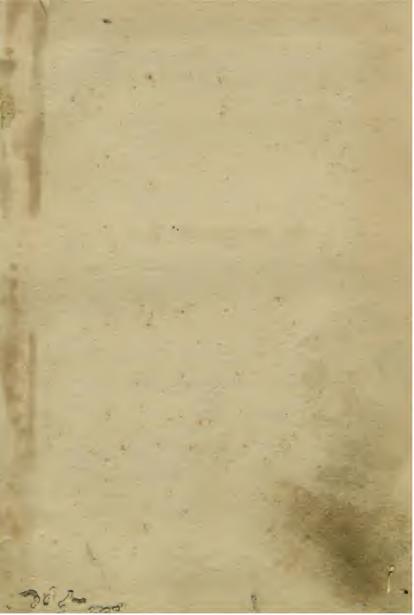
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL LIBRARY

CALL No. 910. 40954023/Bery Con

D.G.A. 79





TRAVELS

IN THE

MOGUL EMPIRE

A.D. 1656-1668

BY

FRANÇOIS BERNIER

M.D. OF THE FACULTY OF MONTPELLIER

5104



TRANSLATED, ON THE BASIS OF IRVING BROCK'S VERSION
AND ANNOTATED BY

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE (1891)

D6535

SECOND EDITION REVISED BY

VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A. AUTHOR OF 'THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA,' ETC.

910.4.0954023 Bez/Con

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW

NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE ROMBAY

First printed 1891 Second edition, revised 1914 Third edition 1934

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIMRARY, NEW, DELHI.

Ace. No. \$104.

Date. 22 10.56.
Call No. 9.10. 40954027 Ber Con

CONTENTS

de la companya della companya della companya de la companya della		中人们的
List of Illustrations.	*	vii
Preface	-	ät
Chronicle of some of the principal events in the life and times	of	
Français Desnier		nin
Bibliography of the writings of François Bernier		EXP
Translation of Bernier's Dedication to King Louis XIV. of France	e,	-
from the 1670 Paris edition		Tly
Translation of Bernier's Address to the Reader, from the 16	70	
Parls edition	-	zlvii
An extract of a letter to Mr. H. O., from M. de Moncesux to younger, from the 1671 London edition	he .	alix
The History of the late Rebellion in the States of the Gre	at	
Mogol	*	1
Remarkable occurrences after the War		116
Letter to Monseigneur Colbert concerning Hindoustan .		200
Letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer, containing a description	ol	
Dehli and Agra	-	239
Letter to M. Chapelain describing the Gentiles of Hindoustan	n	300
Series of nine letters to M. de Merveilles, descriptive of a man- made with the Camp of the Emperor Aureng-Zebe	ch	
Kachemire		350
1		

CONTENTS

Replies to questions put by M. Thevenot regarding:-	PAG
I Jewn in Knehemire .	42
li The Moisson or periodical rains in the Indies	
iii The regularity of the Winds and Currents in the Indies	43
iv The fertility, wealth and beauty of the Kingdom of Bengale	43
v The periodical rising of the Nile	43
A Memorandum, omitted to be inserted in my first Work, to complete the Map of Hindonstan, and make known the Revenues of the Great Mogol	440
Abstract of the King's Licence, from the 1670 Paris edition	453
Appendices :-	461
i Regarding Dryden's Tragedy of AURENG-ZERE.	465
ii On the identity of the 'Great Mogul's diamond with	
lli Tavernier's description of the Peacock Thomas of the	469
potent ministra	471
iv Note on the letter to Monsigneer Colbert concerning the absorption of the precious metals in India	
v Some particulars relating to Mr. Hieners Column	473
burgh]	477
and an	181

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IG.	Prince Aurangzer.	After a contempor painting, in the pe Calouel Hanna	my Indian	9
2.	The Emperor Shāh Jahān.	After the engraving f	A Tricht Aur a	44
т.	PRINCE MURÁD BARHELL	Do	da -	69
	SULTAN SHUJAH.	Do.	do	84
5.	PRINCE DÁRÁ SHIKOR AND RIS SON SJERRE SRIKOR.	Du.		99
Ď,	THE EMPEROR ALAMSIR (AURANG-	Do.		. 117
7.	AMIR JUMLA AMUSING HIMSELF IN	Do.		. 170
8.	Siváji.	After the engraving	in Valentyo	187
	'Gunga Din.'	After a lithograph fr ing by Captain Oli- R. N.	er J. Jooes	206
10.	AN ELEPHANT FIGHT AT LUCKNOW DUBING THE NAWADI.	Settime		. 270
11.	THE EMPRESS TAJ MAHAL	After the engraving dian drawing; in Headerwing	Volentyii	296
12.	RAUSHAN ARA BEGUM.	Do	do.	. 351

Figs 1-12 reproduced by Meyer. Walker and Boatall, Landon.



EXTRACT FROM PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION (1891)

WAS led to select Bemier's Travels as the opening volume of my ORIENTAL MISCELLANY Series for two reasons. An edition of this book had been promised, but never actually issued, by my Grandfather as one of the works to be included in that Miscrisany, which may be regarded as the precursor of all the healthy, chesp, and popular literature of the present day; and, further, it was a book which I had ever admired, even before I was able, from actual experience, to fully appre-

ciate its very remarkable accuracy.

Strange to say, although frequently reprinted and translated, there does not exist, so far as I am aware, any satisfactory edition as to general editing, notes, and so forth, and this has, I hope, proved of advantage to me. For all that, I cannot claim to have approached, even partially, an ideally perfect edition; but, to quote Bernier's own words as applied to his map of The Mogol Empire, I prefer to hope that I have produced a work 'not absolutely correct, but merely less incorrect than others that I have seen. For instance, a copy of the Urdú translation made in 1875 by Colonel Henry Moore, and lithographed in two volumes 8vo, at Umritsur and Moradabad in 1886 and 1868 respectively, only reached my hands after the Bibliography had been printed off. Nor have I been able as yet to find any copy of a Lucknow reprint of the Delhi edition, No. 22 of the list.

In my treatment of Indian proper names, and Indian and Persian words generally, in my notes and elsewhere, I have availed myself very liberally of the 'time-honoured spelling proviso or clause, laid down by authority, in the rules which govern the transliteration of such words.

In the matter of type, ornament, and printing generally, I have endeavoured to retain the old-time flavour of the early French and English editions, but I have never aimed at a facsimile reprint; and I need hardly add that in the text I have preserved the transliterations, admirably phonetic as they all are, to be found in the first French editions, and have avoided attempting any work that might be open to the charge of 'restoration' in the manner too often practised in the art of Architecture at the present day.

In accordance with these general principles I have given a translation of Bernier's Dedication to the French King, and of his Address to the Reader, both of which have been hitherto omitted from every edition except the first. They contain, as was generally the case at the period, a great deal of valuable personal history not to be found elsewhere,

and all worthy of preservation.

The letter from M. de Monceaux the younger, to Mr. H. O., given in the first English translation, and omitted in most of the subsequent reprints or new editions, has also been included, and containing as it does very pleasant testimony to the high esteem ('the most knowing Company on Earth') in which our own Royal Society was held by Foreign savants thus early in its history, I trust that it will prove of general interest, taken in connection with the identification of Mr. H. O. with the first indefatigable secretary of that illustrious body, which it has been my privilege to establish.

As will be seen from Appendix I., it is to the first English edition of Bernier that we are indebted for Dryden's masterpiece of Aureng-Zebe, a tragedy (first acted, it is believed, in the Spring of the year 1675, and printed in 1676) of which Dr. Johnson was moved to say that, founded on the actions of a great Prince then reigning, it was fortunate that his dominion was over nations not likely to employ their critics upon the transactions of the English stage; otherwise, 'if he had known and dis-

liked his own character, our trade was not in those times secure from his resentment. His country is at such a distance, that the manners might be safely falsified, and the incidents felgned; for the remoteness of the place is remarked, by Racine, to afford the same conveniencies to a poet as length of time. However, as may be gathered from Appendix I., the poetic licence allowed to himself by Dryden has enabled him to portray the character of Aurangzeb in a much more favourable light than the stern facts of history would warrant, and strange to say this seems to have been generally overlooked by those writers who have hitherto quoted Dr. Johnson's criticism.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE editorial work of Mr. Archibald Constable, although excellent on the whole, shares the lot of most human productions in falling short of perfection. Critical scrutiny has revealed the need for numerous minute emendations in order to correct misprints, typographical defects, misspellings of proper names or foreign words, mistakes of interpretation, and errors in sundry matters of fact. Such emendations have been stiently made and do not require to be further specified. The spelling of names and the transliteration of foreign words still remain rather irregular, but I have not thought it necessary to observe absolute uniformity. The Index has been left unchanged. Mr. Constable's dates seem to be all in old style.

Mr. Constable's citations from Fryer's work, entitled A New Account of East India and Persia, were made from the rare original edition of 1698, then the only one in existence. I have altered the references so as to suit the more accessible Hakluyt Society edition by Mr. William

Crooke, of which Volume i. appeared in 1909 and Volume ii in 1912. The third volume is in the press,

Mr. Constable's commentary makes nineteen references to the work by Father François Catron, S.J., entitled Histoire Générale de l'Empire du Mogol, first published in 1705, and thrice reissued ten years later in enlarged forms. That work, while not disdaining the support of other authorities, was avowedly based on the memoirs of Niccolao Manucci, a Venetian who practised as a physician in India with success during the second half of the seventeenth century. When Mr. Constable was engaged on his edition the testimony of Manucci was known only through the paraphrase of Catrou, and it was impossible to be certain that any given statement in the Jesuit's book reflected accurately the observations of the Venetian. Some years ago the late Mr. William Irvine succeeded in tracing the forgotten Manucci manuscripts, of which he had copies made. He then translated the whole under the title Storia do Mogor, adding an elaborate commentary. His labours resulted in the production of four massive volumes published by Mr. John Murray in 1907 and 1908, which supersede Catrou. Practically the whole value of Catrou's compilation consists in the material derived from Manucci, and now that, owing to Mr. Irvine's scholarly enthusiasm, the text of that author has been made accessible in an English version, it is not only superfluous, but actually misleading, to quote Catron, as will appear from the comments to be made presently. I have, therefore, prepared a statement giving exact references to the quarto edition of Catron published in 1715 (the references of Mr. Constable being without indication of the pages) and also to the passages in the Storia do Mogor which most nearly correspond. The studious reader will thus be enabled to follow up Mr. Constable's vague references to 'Catrou' in the pages of Mr. Irvine's monumental work.

References to Catron and Manucci.

Reference to Contable.			Manuel, Staria de Mague, transl, and ed. by W. Irvine; London, 1907, 1908; 4 wils thick occase.		
Page	Part	Page	Vel	Page	
6, n. 1	L and II.	170	I,	221-7	
11, n. 2	ts	166	11	217	
16, n. 2	24	173	32	226	
17, n. 3	39	174	33	232	
23, n. 2	22	171	22	225	
68, n. 1	92	211	23	303	
70, n. 1*	33	211	33	303	
101, n. 1*	11	205	33	356-60	
100, n. I*	33	226	12	359	
105, n. 3*	21	211	99	304	
108, n. 1*	22	221	50.	203	
114, n. 1*	22	228	23	375	
274, n. 1	111	118	54	158, 159	
283, n. 4*	11	15B	.11.	67	
287, n. I*	22	156	J.	176, 182, 183	
280, n. 1*	22	117	. 10.	158	
288, n. 2	**	119	liv.	161 } 421 }	
400	33	173	199	226, 233, 237	
474*	11	165	18	206	

Note.—Irvine (Storia da Magor, vol. i. p. xxvi) mentions three issues of Catrou's revised work in French, all published at Parls, and bearing the date 1715; namely, (No. 1) 1 vol. quarto; (No. 2) 2 vols. small octave; and (No. 3) 5 vols. duodecimo. Coples of Nos. 1 and 2, which I have not examined, are in the British Museum. I do not know where No. 3 is to be found. No copy of any of the three issues exists at Oxford in the Bodleian, All Souls College Library, or the Library of the Union Society. The India Office Library has a good copy of No. 1 only, which I have used. It is a small quarto, containing Parts 1, and 11, to the end of Shahjahan's reige, 272 pp., reprinted from the militio princeps of 1705; and Part III. Aurangreb's reige, 207 pp., paged separately, with a Table des Metières of 4 pages not numbered. The passages marked with an asterisk differ materially in Catrou and the Storya de Magor.

Certain matters which could not be conveniently included in the emendations may be noted here.

Page 3, n. 1. The title Sahib-i Kiran has nothing to do with a reign of thirty years. It means 'lord of [auspicious] conjunction [of the planets],' i.e. that the prince had been born under such a conjunction. Shahjahan called himself the 'second Sahib-i Kiran,' Timur having been the first.

Page 7, n. 1, l. 5. The names omitted are given by Manucci as Father Estanilas Malpica, a Neapolitan, and Father Pedro Juzarte, a Portuguese (Storia do Mogor, i. 223). The India Office copy of Catrou (p. 170) gives them as 'les P. P. Stanislas Malpica Napolitain, Pedro Juzarte Portugais.'

Page 57, n. 2. The statements are incorrect. Solarmân Shikoh was poisoned at Gwalior by order of Aurangzeb, but his younger brother, Sipihr Shikoh, although imprisoned for a time at the same place, was married in 1673 to Zubdat-un-nissa, a daughter of Aurangzeb, and detained at Salimgaph (Delhi), where he died on July 2, 1708 (Storia do Mogor, see Index).

Page 59, n. 3. Sulaimán Shikoli was not given up 'by the Ilàjá,' who, on the contrary, refused to violate the laws of hospitality, defying Aurangzeb to do his worst. The betrayal was the work of the Rájá's sou, who desired to carry favour with the emperor (Storia do Mogar, i. 379).

Page 68, n. The boy was Sultan Muhammad Azam, Aurangzeb's third son, born on Oct. 17, 1653 (N.S.), and therefore almost four years and eight months old on June 15, 1658 (ibid. i. 303, note). But Mr. Irvine also gives the date of his birth as July 9, 1653 (ibid. iv. 400, note 2). Beale gives the date as July 11 (O.S.).

Page 70, n. 1. The ennuch Shahbas was suddenly seized by four men, who forthwith strangled him, 'and buried him without a sound' (Storin do Mogor, i. 803).

Page 101, n. 1; page 103, n. 1. The details given by

Manueci (i. 356-60) do not agree exactly with Catron's version.

Page 105, n. S. Manucci says:—'Then he called in the men hidden for the purpose, and ordered them to bring in the fetters already lying ready for use. Some, on the other hand, want to make out that these fetters were of silver, intended by Anrangzeb to terrify his son Sultan Muhammad if he were disobedient' (Storia do Mogor, 1.304). As to the cunuch, see the comment above on p. 70, note 1.

Page 108, v. 1. Manucci states that:—'The quist passed sentence according to the instructions received, and to execute it the king sent a company of soldiers from his guard with some of his slaves. When they had arrived at Gwaliyar fortress, they ent off Murad Baksh's head in the presence of the complainant and other witnesses. He was interred there and then' (ibid. i. \$883).

Page 114, n. 1. Manucel, who goes more into detail, does not give the date. Feb. 7, 1658 (ibid. i. 375).

Page 118, n. 1. For the history of the Taj, see A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911, pp. 414-8.

Page 257, n. 1. Mr. Constable's note and Appendix A. of Keene's Handbook are in error. The true story of the elephants is summarized in A History of Fine Art in India and Ceulon, p. 425.

Page 278, s. 2. 'Dame Jeanne,' anglicised as 'demijohn,' was a kind of glass vessel. I do not know how the phrase 'raisons de Dame Jeanne' arose.

Page 284, n. S. 'Some 168 Mindra have been located to date—35 in the United Provinces, S0 in the Punjab, and 105 in Rajputana. There are 75 in the Jaipur State alone.' (Ann. Progr. Rep. of Super! Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, 1912-13, p. 7).

Page 287, s. 1. The trouble arose owing to the capture by the Portuguese of two slave-girls, not

daughters, of Mumtáz Mahall (Storia do Mogor, i. 176, 182, 183). The mistake is due to a mistranslation of 'deux de ses filles' (Catrou, Parts 1. and 11. p. 156).

Page 323, n. 2; page 329, n. 3. Mr. Constable's ingenious explanation of the use of the form 'Hanscrit' instead of 'Sanskrit' seems to be unnecessary and erroneous. The simple explanation is that the writers who use that form followed the pronunciation of Western Rájputána and Gujarát.

'The sibilant is the Shibboleth of the Rajpoot of Western India, and will always detect him. The "lion" (sing) of Pokurna is degraded into "asafoetida" (hing); as Halim Hing' (Tod, Annals, Popular Edition, 1914, vol. i. p. 557 n.). 'Especially in the west and south [of Rájputána], the letter s is pronounced like a rough h, thus agreeing with Northern Gujarátí and many Bhíl dialects' (Grierson, Linguistic Survey, vol. ix. part 11. p. 4).

Page 394, n. last para. Dr. (Sir M. A.) Stein published his critical edition of the text of the Rájatarangini in 1892, and his magnificent translation with encyclopaedic commentary in 1900 (Constable, 2 vols.).

V. A. S.

CHRONICLE



CHRONICLE

OF

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS

IN THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

FRANÇOIS BERNIER

Louis xrii., Ring of France. Sames Stuart, vi. of Erolland and s. of England, reigns in England.

Jahangir, Empreor of Pindostan.

Born at Joué, near Gonnord, in Anjou. His parents, cultivators of the soil, were leaseholders, in the Barony of Etian, of land belonging to the Canoory of St. Maurice at Angers.

Baptized,

Aujourd'hai vongt-aiatesme jour de auptambre mil six cent vingt, a eard hapriet par may surà souleigne François fisi de homoscable bonnes Pierre, Esquier es de Andrés Grunnald; fut pascais résidenble et discret Meadre François Bernier surd de Chattatata, et marraite bonnesis fille Jullienne Ronnes, impuille ma déclarer ne agresié super.

F. Bernier.

Guytton.

-{Register of the Parish of Joul, preserved in the Archives of the Commune of Joul. Elicu.)

Charles 1., Iring of England, begins to reign, 27th fflareh 1625. Rours XIV. speceeds to the throne of France, 14th May 1645. Shah Iaban, Emperor of Qindostan, 4th February 1628. Cammonwralth proclaimed in England, 30th Innuary 1648.9.

Travels in Northern Germany, Poland, Switzerland and Italy.

1547-1850.

1620. Saptember 251); or 261)

> September 28th.

XX CHRONICLE OF FRANÇOIS BERNIER

1652. May 5th.

Having passed an examination in physiology, for which he had been prepared by the philosopher Gassendi, in Provence, he matriculates at the University of Montpellier.

July 18th.

Passes his examination as licentiate in medicine.

ugust zath.

Takes his degree as Doctor of Medicine, and subsequently goes to Paris.

1654.

Visits Palestine and Syria.

1655. ctober Teth. Tends, together with Antoine de la Potherie, amanuensis, the philosopher Gassendi in his last illness, and is present at his death.

Bernier undoubtedly owni his great powers of accurate observation to his training under Gassendi, and he has warmly recorded his sense of gratitude to M. Chapelle (who first introduced him to that philosopher) in the last paragraph of his letter to M. Chapelain, on the Gentiles of

Hindostan, see p. 349.

Admirable testimony to the genius of Gasseudi has been borne by Henry Rogers as follows: 'The character of Gasseudi's intellect is everywhere indicated by his works;—it was critical rather than inventive. . . . Gasseudi's powers of acquisition must have been singularly active; nor was his logical acuteness, or the liveliness of his imagination, much inferior to the promptness and retentiveness of his memory. His tearning is never more learning; like that of many of his network. The vivality of his mind animates and penetrates the mass; and the acuteness of his massing and the emberonce of his flustrations relieve of such of their techum discussions in themselves often uniaviting enough.' Encyc. Brit. Eighth edition, 1856.

Aurungeb proclaims himself Emperor of Dinbonian, under the title of Alamgir, 21st July 1658.

1659-1658.

Goes to Egypt. Has 'the plague' at Roretta. Lives at Cairo for upwards of a year. Embarks at Suez for Jedda, where he is detained for nearly five weeks. Sails thence for Moka, where he arrives after a passage of fifteen days. Is croupelled to abandon his intention of visiting Abytainia, and sets sail in an Indian vessel for Surat, which he reaches in twenty-two days, most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659.

1659. larch-April. After the battle fought at Deori near Ajmere, between the Princes Aurangaeb and Dárá, on the 12th-13th March 1659, Bernier, then on his way from Surat to Agra, is compelled by Dárá, whom he meets near Alunedaland, to accompany him as his physician. Dárá being obliged to fly towards Sind, Bernier is hurawed by robbers; but eventually reaches Ahmedabad, where he falls in with a Mogul Noble who was travelling to Delhi, and places himself under his protection.

Chirles 11. of England enters London, 29th May 1660.

Is in Delhi, whence he dates his letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer, see p. 239.

1663. July 1st.

At Delhi, Aurangzeb about to start for Kashmír.

1664. December14t 1665.

At Lahore, Aurangzeb having arrived there.

February 25tl

After travelling in Kashmír, he voyages to Bengal with Tavernier. December 6t who left Agra on the 25th November. On the 6th December they are at Alum Chand, about eighteen miles west of Allahabad.

1666. January 6th

Tavernier and Bernier part company near Rájmahál. Bernier proceeding to Kásimbázár (Tavernier's *Travels*. Edited by Dr. Ball, London, 1889), afterwards travelling from Bengal to Masulipatam (see my text, p. 113) and Golkonda, where he heard of the death of the Sháh Jahán (p. 198), which event happened on the 22d January 1666.

1667.

In this year he was still in Golkonda (text, p. 195), and it is probable that in the early part of it he embarked at Surat, where he saw Chardin the traveller, see page 312.

He is at Shiraz in Persia, see p. 300.

October 4th

Is at Taduan near Shiráz, whence he addresses a letter to M. Chapelain at Paris, received there on the 15th February 1669.

1668. June 4th.

M. Chapelain addresses a letter on the 26th April from Paris to Bernier at Marseilles.

April-May. September

Bernier is still at Marseilles, as would appear from a letter addressed to him there by M. Chapelain. It is probable that shortly after this date he was in Paris arranging for the publication of his Travels.

25th. 1670.

Date of the French King's Licence for the printing and publishing of his book.

April 25th.

The transfer of all his rights in the publication, to Claude Barbin, is registered in the book of the Booksellers and Printers of Paris.

August 13th

James 11. succeeds to the Crown of England, 6th February 1685.

Visits England. Dies at Paris. 1685. 1688. September 22

Extrait du Registre des sépultures failes en l'église paroissiale de St. Barthélemy à Paris de septembre 1077 à mars 1692.

Année t688.—Le jeudi vingt-troisième septembre a été inhumé dans cette église M° François Bernier, docteur en médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier, âgé de soixante et treize ans, décédé le vingt-deuxième

xxii CHRONICLE OF FRANÇOIS BERNIER

du dit mois en la maison place Dauphine, à la Renommée, de cette puroisse. Ont assisté au convoy Philippe Bourigault, cussi docteur en médecine de la dite Faculté, demourant de présent aussite place Dauphine, et Martin Barthelemy d'Herbelot, escuyer, demourant rue de Touraine, paroisse St. Sulpice.

B. D'HERBELOT.

P. BOURIGAULT.

His friend D'Herbelot, the Orientalist, and his nephew Philippe Bourgault, who arranged for his burint, would appear to have given his age inexactly as seventy-three, whereas he was then a few days short of sixty-eight years.

Bernier does not appear to have been long ill, and it is said that his death resulted from an apoplectic fit, the effect of excitement caused by some rude bantering he had been subjected to when in the company of M. le Procureur-général de Harlay. He had made his will on the 18th September, bequeathing his property to his nephew Philippe Bourigault, charged with legacies to Autoine de la Potheric, his man of business, formerly secretary to Gassendi, to the Prior of Saint-Marc-lès-Vendôme, his two female servants, and another.

For the facts contained in the foregoing Chronicle I am mainly indebted to the researches of Drs. E. Farge and Pompée Mabille, and M. L. De Lens; see Biegraphies and Miscellanes, No. 12-16, p. xiii part. BIBLIOGRAPHY



A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF FRANÇOIS BERNIER.

TRAVELS IN THE MOGOL EMPIRE.

Essnes in the Anthor's Difetime.

I.-AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

HISTOIRE | DE LA DERNIERE | REVOLUTION | DES ETATS | DU GRAND MOGOL, | Dedice AV ROY, | Par le Sieur F. BERNIER | Medecin de la Faculté de | Montpellier. | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chez CLAUDE BARBIN, | au Palais, | fur le Perron de la fainte Chapelle. | M.DC.LXX. | Avec Privilege du Roy. |

[Frontispiece, Map of the Empire of the Great Mogul; title-page; Dedication to the King, two leaves; Address to the Reader, one leaf; pages 268. The map (reproduced at p. 238 of this volume) is interesting, and the position of many of the places tolerably accurate, others are very far out. For a translation of the Dedication to the King, and

the Address to the Reader, see pp. xlv.-xlvii.]

EVENEMENS | PARTICULIERS, | Oucequis'est passé de plus | considerable aprés la guerre | pendant cinq ans, ou en- | viron, dans les Etats du | grand Mogol. | Avec vne Lettre de l'étendue de | l'Hindoustan, Circulation de l'or | & de l'argent pour venir s'y abs- | mer, Richesses, Forces, Iustice, | & Cause principale de la Deca- | dence des Etats d'Asie. | TOME II. | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chez CLAUDE BARBIN, au Palais, | fur le Perron de la Ste Chapelle. | M. DC. LXX. | Avec Privilege du Roy.

[Title-page. Pages 294. Abridgment of the Letters-Patent of the King, authorising the printing and publication of the book; one leaf. This authority is dated Paris, 5th April 1670, and ends by stating that the Sieur Bernier had made over to Claude Barbin the right of printing, publishing, and selling the said work.]

N.B. In the British Museum Library Catalogue there is an entry-

Paris 1670 2 Vols 12mo.

¹ For much valuable aid in the preparation of this Bibliography I am indebted to Mr. John P. Anderson of the British Museum.

Pressmark 1434, a .- of the issue of Tome 11, as a separate work in the same year, viz. 1670. A careful examination and measurement of the volume in question (which was at one time in the possession of Heuri Ternaux-afterwards Ternaux-Compans-the well-known historian and bibliographer of books of early travel, each of the outside covers bearing his well-known crest, a ram's head, with his initials H. T. In Gothic letters, all stumped in gold), has convinced the writer that there is an error in the entry. The mistake has arisen from the fact that some owner of the volume has erased the words "ross a 11." from the title-page. The British Museum cataloguer has thus been led to suppose that he had a copy of a 'reasue' in his hands; this belief being strengthened, perhaps, by the fact of the volume having the leaf with the Extrait du Privilege du Roy at the end, following page 294, as in the copy with 'TOME IL' on the Info-page described above. The volume in question is half-bound in calf, gilt tooling and ornaments in the Terpana-Compans style, and is lettered at the back EVENEMENTS | DES ETATS | DU MOGUL | PARIS 1670. |

Faris 1671. 2 vols. 12mo. SVITE | DES | MEMOIRES | DVS* BERNIER, | SVW | L'EMPIER | DV GRAND MOGOL | DEDIES AV ROY | [Ornament] | A PARIS, | Chee CLAVDE BARBIN, SR Palais, | fur le Peron de la Sainte | Chapelle. | M.DC. LXXI | AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY. |

[Title-page. Pages 3-178. Letter to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer, written at Dehli 1st July 1663, descriptive of Dehli and Agra etc. Blank leaf. Pages 1-137, Letter to Monsieur Chapelain, despatched from Chiras in Persia, 4th October 1667, concerning the superstitions etc. of the Indons or Gentiles of Hindonstan. Pages 1-69, Letter to Monsieur Chapelle, despatched from Chiras in Persia, 10th June 1668, regarding his intention of resuming his studies of some points relating to the atomic theory, and the nature of the human understanding.]

SVITE | DES | MEMOIRES | DV S*BERNIER, | SVR | L'EMPIRE | DV GRAND MOGOL. | DEDIEZ AV ROY. | [Ornament] | A FARIS, | Chea CLAVDE BARBIN, au Palais, | for le Perron de la Sainte | Chapelle. |

M.DC. LXXL APEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

[Title-page. General title to the series of letters descriptive of the journey to Kashmir made in 1664 in the suite of the Great Megal, one leaf. Pages 5-285. The series of nine letters to Monsicur de Mervellles, the first being written from Dehli on the 14th December 1664, Aurengaebe being then about to start. Pages 286-293. 'Some particulars condited to be inserted in my first work, which will serve to improve the map of Hindowstan, and afford details concerning the Revenue of the Great Mogol.' On zeros of page 293 an abstract of the King's Licence (for a translation, see p. 461 of this volume) given in Tome

II. of 1670, to which is appended the certificate of registration of the publication as follows :-

Registré fur le Livre de la Communauté des Libraires & Imprimeurs de Paris, le 13. Aoust 1670. Signé Lovis Sevestre, Syndic.

THE | HISTORY | OF | The Late Revolution | OF | The EMPIRE of the | GREAT MOGOL: | TOGETHER WITH | The most considerable London 1671 Passages, | for 5 years following in that Empire. | To which is added, A LETTER to the Lord COLBERT, | touching the extent of Indostan | the | Circulation of the Gold and Silver of | the World, to discharge it felf there ; as also the Riches, Forces, and Justice | of the fame : And the Principal Cause | of the Decay of the States of Asia, | By Monst F. BERNIER, | Physitian of the Faculty of Montpelier. | English'd out of French. | LONDON | Printed, and sold by Mofes Pitt | at the White Hart in Little Britain, Simon Miller | at the Star in St. Poul's Church-Yard, and John | Starkey at the Miter near Temple-Bar, 1671.

[Title-page. Seven pages, an extract of a letter written to Mr. H[ENRY] O[LDENBURG] from Monst de Monceaux the younger, giving a character of the book here Englished, and its Author. Six pages, The Heads of the Principal Contents of this History, Added by the English Interpreter. One page, Errata of Tome I. and Tome II. Pages 1-258, The history of the late Revolution of the Dominions of the Great

(Particular Events; | OR THE | Most Considerable | PASSAGES | After the War of Five Years, or | thereabout, in the Empire of the GREAT MOGOL. | Together with a Letter concern-ling the Extent of INDOSTAN: the | Circulation of the Gold and Silver at | last fwallow'd up there; the Riches, Forces, Justice, and the Principal Cause of the Decay of the States of ASIA. | TOM. II. | London, Printed by S. G. for Moses Pitt at | the White Hart in Little Britain, 1671.

[Title-page as above. Pages 1-176, Particular events etc. Pages 1-102, Letter to Colbert. Map of The EMPIRE of the Great MOGOL. This map has been copied from the one in the First French edition, Paris, 1670, some of the names have been Anglicized, and, although not quite so well engraved, it is printed on better paper. One leaf, Advertisement of the publication by M. Pitt of an English translation, price 1s. 6d. in 8vo. of the voyage of Roland Frejus of Marfeilles to Mauritania in Africk, in 1666, by the French King's Order.]

A CONTINUATION | OF THE | MEMOIRES | OF | Monfieur BERNIER, | Concerning the | Empire of the Great Mogols | Wherein is contained 1. An exact Description of DEHLI | and AGRA, the Capital Cities of

2 vols. Svo.

London 1672

Syo.

the Em- | pire of the Great MOGOL; together with | some particulars, making known the court and gentus of the Mogali and Indians; ! as also the Doctrine, and Extravagant Super | -ftitlons and Customs of the Heathen of | INDOSTAN. | 2. The Emperour of Magel's Voyage to the | Kingdom of Nachemire, in the year 1664. | 3. A LETTER, written by the Author to | M. Chearlle, touching his Delign of returning, after | all. his Peregrinations, to his Studies; where he ta- | keth occasion to discourse of | the Doctrine of | ATOMS, and the Nature of the Understanding of MAN, | Tome III. and IV. | English'd out of Franch by H. O. | LONDON | Printed, and are to be sold by Mojes Pitt, at | the White Hart in Little Britain. 1672.

[Title-page. Four pages, The Heads of the Chief Contents of the Third Tome. Five pages, The Heads of the Fourth Tome. Three pages, List of books 'to be fold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain.' One Leaf, Licence for printing and publishing 'this Continuation of the Memsirer of Mons. Bernier, dated, Whitehall, April 24, 1671, and signed, JOHN COOKE, Pages 1-173, Letter

to Monsieur de la Mothe le Vayer.]

A | CONTINUATION | OF THE | HISTORIE | OF | Monsieur Bernier Concerning the Empire of | the Great Mogol. | Particularly | A Relation of the Voyage made A. 1664 | by the great Mogol Aurence Zebe, mar- | ching with his Army from Dekly to La | her, from Laker to Bember, and from | Bember to the Kingdom of Kachemire, by | the Mogola called the Paradise of the Indies. | Tome IV. | Landon, Printed by S. G., and sold by Mefes | Pitt at the Signe of the White Hart in Little Britain.

[Title-page. General title to the series of letters, one leaf. Pacea 2-174. The series of nine letters to Montieur de Merveilles. 175-178, Some particulars forgotten to be inferted in my first Book. to perfect the Man of Indoltan, and to know the Revenue of the Great Morol.' Pages 1-39, Letter to Monsieur Chapelle. One page, List of books to be sold by Mofes Pitt. This is the earliest English translation of the Editio Princeps. }

Amsterdam 1672. 12mc.

OPROBR | int | RYCK VAN MOGOL, | I'Amflerdam, | By Journey Januarius van | Waefberge, Anno 1672. | [At foot of a copperplate engraving representing a Mogal executioner, swoul in right hand. a vels. in one, and halding up the head of a man whose body her at his free. In background a general scrimmage or upronr.]

VERHARL | Van der laeisten | opnoan | Inden Staet des | GROOTEN 1 MOGOLA. | Tegelijck oock vervattende veeler- ley feldfarme Voorvallen, | Befchieren | Door de Hear F. Branjun, | Medicijn in de Facultryt van | Montpellier | En nu Vertseldt door | Simon de Vains, I [Printer's mark, Spreading olive-tree with vine round trank, aged

men to right, with non solus to left.] [t'Amstrldam,] By Johannes Ianssonius ven | Waesberge, 1672. |

[Engraved title-page, as above. Printed title-page, as above. Two pages, the Translator to the Reader, dated Utrecht, 1st May 1672, and signed StMON de VRIER. Map IMPERII | MAONI MOGOLIS | Marile finar Deferentia. | Pages 1-140, History of the late Revolution, etc. Title-page to vol. fi. Pages 3-162, Occurrences after the war and the letter to Colbert. Title-page to vol. iii. Pages 3-94; Letter to Monsieur De la Mothe le Vayer. Pages 95-168, Letter to Monsieur Chappelain (nv). Pages 169-200, Letter to Monsieur Chapelle. Titlepage to vol. iv. Pages 3-140, The series of nine letters to Monnieur de Merveilles on the journey to Kashmir, etc. Pages 147-151, Some particulars forgotten to be inserted in the first volume, etc. The Translator has taken the trouble to verily the figures, but has himself fallen into an error. His words are 'De reghte recekeningh is: Over de 230. Millionen Rougles, of meet als 345. Millionen guldena sijnde 3450, Tonnen Gouds.' Which may be English'd thus: 'The correct amount of this statement is above 130 millions of supers, or more than 345 millions of gulders which would amount to 3450 tens of gold.4

A very choicely printed edition, and the first with any pictorial illustrations. There are no notes of any kind, but here and there the French equivalent for the Dutch is given. The map of the Magail Empire, which has been compiled from various sources, is in many ways repeater to the one in the fast French edition, and is reproduced at page 454 of my edition. Bombay, titled Bombaja, is thown, an early mention of the name of that city and territory ceded to Charles II. by the Portuguese in 1661.

The illustrations, all copperplate engravings, some of them rather week in their mechanical execution, are as follows: Vol. I. facing page 12, to illustrate the incident recorded at page 13 of my edition, Begum Sahib and her Khanazman (Stoward), a more fancy sketch: Ragum Sahib with an ostrich plums henddress, but with a very chubby, honest Dutch face, and so forth. Page 58, The battle of Samégarit.

Vol. ii. page to, The Tarrar Princess shooting arrows into a band of Mogul soldiery, who are falling fast; see pp. 122, 123 of my edition. Page 22, Didar Khan and the wife of the Gentile Serivener.

Vol. iii. page 33. The Great Mogal criting in state, several of the details correct, according to Bernier's text, as a whole a mere fancy sketch. Page 44. An outriding (Sugari) of the Great Mogal. At page 61 is an interesting map of the Kingdom of Kashmir, a new and accurate delineation (REGNI KACHEMIRE Nova et Accurate de-

A ten of gold-one hundred thousand guiders (Finance Dated Dictionary). Towarder constantly talks of this measure of account. The guider may be here taken as worth about as gul to as oid.

scriptio). This has been compiled from the text of Bernier's account, and is curiously incorrect. The royal elephants falling from the *Pire Penjale* (see page 408 of my edition, where this map is reproduced), are shown thereon. At the back of the map is inserted an engraving of an elephant fight; see page 276, et seq., also a mere fancy sketch.]

6 [Edition not seen.]

La Haye 1671-72. ? vols. 12mo.

[Edition not seen. It is a German translation by Johann Wilhelm Serlin, who was also its publisher, of the first French editions, Nos. I and 2.]

Frankfort ^A/M 1672-73. 4 vols. 12mo.

8

Milan 1675.

Istoria della ultima revoluzione delli Stati del Gran Mogor dell Sr. Bernier tradotta in Italiano. [Edition not seen.]

7 vols. 12mo.

London 1676.

Svo.

Vol. i. has the same title-page as in the 1671 edition (No. 3), with the addition of the words THE SECOND EDITION above the imprint.

Vol. ii. the same title-page as in the first edition, but printed by William Godbid. Both these volumes are in smaller type than the first edition, but otherwise it has been followed. The third and fourth volumes of the first edition (No. 4) do not appear to have been reprinted for the second edition, but copies of the complete work, made up with vols. i. and ii. second edition, and iii. and iv. of the first, bound up together, are not uncommon. Probably vols. iii. and iv. did not sell as well as vols. i. and ii.

II .- WITH OTHER WORKS.

IO London 1684. Folio. Collections of travels through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies, giving an account of the present state of those countries. . . . Being the travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Bernier, and other great men. . . . The second volume, London, Printed for Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard, M.DC.LXXXIV.

[A reprint of the four volumes of Bernier's History of the late Revo-

XXXI

lution, etc., London, 1671-2, is contained in pages 1-154. We tearn from the copy of the letter from Monsieur de Monceaux the younger, as given in this edition, that the Translator's name was Mr. H[enry] Ouldinburgh. This name is also spelt Oldenburg, see Appendix V.]

Essues since the Anthor's Death.

L-AS A SEPARATE PUBLICATION.

Voyages de François Bernier, Docteur en Medecine de la Faculté de Montpellier, contenant la Description des Etats du Grand Mogol, de l'Hindoustan, du Royaume de Kachemire, etc., . . . Le tout enrichi de Cartes et de Figures . . A Amsterdam, Chez Paul Marret, Marchand Libraire dans le Beurs-straet, à la Renommée. M.DC.XCIX.

[Frontispieces to both volumes the same, the Great Mogul riding in

state, a mere fancy sketch.

Vol. i., Map of the Mogol Empire, copied from the one in the first

French edition, facing p. 5.

Vol. fi. The illustrations are as follows: - Eugraving of Inhabitants of Agra, facing page 5, some of the details from authentic Eastern sources, but not applicable to Agra. Folding plate of The Court of the Great Mogul, facing page 40, compiled from the text of Bernier and various other writers, curious, here and there an authentic detail. This plate has been used to illustrate various other accounts of the Mogul Court. The Great Mogul being weighed against coin, folding plate, facing page 55, a mere fancy sketch. Two elephants fighting, folding place facing page 6x, copied in part from the engraving at page 6t, vol. iii., of edition No. 5. Folding plate, facing page 97, background, filly landscape with a representation of a Hindoo idol, of the Satyr type monally met with in books of travel of that period; to the left a. Moslem Fakir playing on a exceeding (species of drain worn round the neck, and played on with the fingers of both hands); to the right, a female figure, intended, I believe, to represent a woman on the way to consult a devotee of some sort. Both of these figures have been copied. from drawing safter nature, and are undoubtedly quite authentic. Opposite page 113, folding plate of a Suttee ceremony; to the left two figures in Western dress looking on, a mere fancy sketch. At page 125, a Hindoo Fakir, with his arms above his head, from nature. Folding plate opposite page 236, the Great Mogal roling in state, copied from the engraving at page 33, vol. iii., edition No. 5. Several of the details of arms, musical instrument in hand of mounted figure in the foreground, co., have been copied from an early Ms. copy of the Ain-i-Akbari, in which there are drawings of these and other objects to illustrate the

Amsterdam 1699. 2 vols. 12mo. text, and after which the plates in Blochmann's tedition have been compiled. Other details, such as the trappings of the elephant, etc., incorrect and of no value. This plate (or modifications of it) has often been used for illustrating early books on India. At page 269, Carte noavelle du ROYAVME DE KACHEMIRE, a Freuch translation of the map at page 61, vol. iii., of edition No. 5, fairly well engraved. Facing page 343, a map of the sources of the river Nile, curious as an illustration to Bernier's test, and typical of the delineation of the sources of the Nile, and 'adjacent country' (!) that lingered on all maps until comparatively modern times.]

12 Amsterdam 1710 and 1709. (rfd.) 2 vols. 12mo.

Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 15. Vol. ii, bas M.DCC.IX. as imprint,—a mistake, I take it, for M.DCC.IX. or it may be that vol. ii, is from another edition of 1709,—the ornaments on the title-pages of 1710 and 1709 differing.]

Amsterdam 1711. 2 vols. 15mo. Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11. The plates for the maps and illustrations wearing out, and showing great algas of having been 'touched up.']

Amsterdam 1723. 2 vois. Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11., with the same maps and plates.]

Amsterdam 1724 and 1728. (200.) 2 vols. 13mo.

12000.

Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [A reprint of No. 11, with a few errors corrected in vol. i., which has on the title-page Neurolis Edition recois to corrigée, but this is the only vol. of the new edition. Vol. ii. is of the 1723 edition, and bears on title-page M.DCCXXIII. The map of the Mogul Empire does not appear to have been issued with vol. i.]

Amsterdam 1725. 2 vols. 12mo. Voyages de François Bernier, etc. [Edition not seen.]

London 1826. 2 volu. 8vo. Travels in the Mogul Empire, by Francis Bernier. Translated from the French by Irving Brock. In two volumes. London: William Pickering, Chancery-Lane. 1826.

I Calcutta. Asiatic Society of Hengal, 1873, vol. 1. All published as yet

[An exceedingly well printed book. Valuable appendices, considering the period when published, and a preface that practically contains all that was then known about Bernier. The translator was handleapped by an evident want of any acquainfance with the East, and has therefore failed to bring out the extreme accuracy of much that Bernier records. Monsieur de Monceaux's letter to Mr. H. O., and the valuable statement regarding the Mogul Revenues (see pages 455-460 of my edition), have been omitted. As stated elsewhere, I have used Mr. Brock's translation to some extent as the basis for my own.]

In a prospectus, dated Edinburgh, 20th June 1825, The travels of Francis Bernier, and his Account of the Court of the Great Mogul, 2 cals, is announced as a work under preparation for Constable's Minesilany. This book was never included in that series, and it is possible that the edition described above, No. 17, was originally prepared for it. At present I have not been able to verify this.

Bernier's Travels: comprehending a description of the Mogol Empire including the Kingdom of Kashmir, etc. etc. etc. Translated from the French by John Steuart. Condo et compone quie mox depromere possim. Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 17 Circular Road, 1826.

Title-pare. One leaf, dedication, dated Calcutta, 1st January 1826, to Captain George Anderson Vetch, of the Bengal Army.1 Pages L-iii, Translator's Preface. Page iv., blank. Pages v.-vi., Advertisement, which contains many mistakes relating to Pernier's career and other editions of his works. Pages vii, viii, Contents. Pages 1-58, Letter to Monsieur Chapelain. The veries of nine letters to Monsieur de Merveilles pages 59-143, from which the concluding six paragraphs as well as the answers to the five questions put by M. Thevenot have been omitted. Pages 144-213, Letter to Monsieur de la Muthe le Vayer, containing the description of Dohll and Agra, etc. At the end un pages of correspondence, being reprints of a series of letters signed ! Overs," "Cemorious," and "A Sabscriber," which appeared in the India Gazatte, ranging in date from 12th January 1826 to 18th February 1826, relating to the forthcoming publication. 'Comorious' appears to have seen the MS., or perhaps periof-sheets, as he condemns the book from every point of view. 'Occar,' who was perhaps Captain Vetch, replies, appealing for fair play: " Most critics, Mr. Editor, have the grace to walt at least till the game is fairly started, and then give the view della; but this poacher in the fields of criticism takes a pot-shot at his prey in its seat, while with palpitating breast it is about to open on the public view."

t8 Calcutta 1905, 1 vol. 8vo.

¹ Fifty-fourth Regiment Native Infantry, in charge of the countraction of the road from Benarra to Allahabad. Designal strong List for 1986.

Judging from the style of the translation, the intimate acquaintance with India apparent all through, and the endings, such as,

· I remain.

My dear Sir.

Your ever faithful and affectionate, FRANCIS BERNIER'

which are, without any warrant, appended to many of the letters, Mr. Steuart was probably an East Indian clerk in some Government office, who had a knowledge of French. "A Subscriber," in the correspondence quoted above, states that on seeing the letters be was glad to observe that a translation of Bernier's travels was about to appear, and mentions that he has beard that the translator had already issued an English version of a 'most useful French work, in which, I understand, are to be found beautiful models of familiar letters."

19 Paris 1830. 2 vols. Byo.

Voyages de François Bernler, Docteur en médecine de la Faculté de Montpellier. Paris. Imprimé aux frais du Gouvernement pour procurer du travail aux ouvriers typographes, Aout, 1550.

[A mere reorint of edition No. 11, without the many and illustrations. All the old typographical errors are repeated, and several new ones have crept in. In the words of M. L. de Leas (Les correspondants de Français Bernier pendant um voyage dans l'Inde . . . Angers, 1872): "C'est une simple réimpression, à laquelle aucun homme de lettres n'a donné ses soins. L'ourrage fut publié aux frais du Gouvernement, dans le but indiqué cl-dessus [pour procurer du travail aux ouvriers typegraphes], sur un crédit de 40,000f. voté par la Chambre de députés."]

20 1 vol.

Byb.

The history of the late Revolution, etc., Bombay a Re-printed at Bembey 1830, the Summachar Press, 1830,

[A verbatim, and to some extent factimile, reprint of vols. i. and ii. of the first English edition, No. 3. The Editor, probably the proprietor of the Summachar Press, dedicates the book, by permission, to Sir John Maicolm, G.C.B., Governor of Bombay. Following the text, at the end of the book, is an announcement, which, as k contains much carious information worthy of record, and is an interesting specimen of quaint Indo-English composition, is here reprinted :-

PROSPECTUS.

Literature of India.

The Literati in general and the Lovers of Oriental Literature in farthular, are hereby informed that it is intended to reprint

The History of the Revolution in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL.

by Monse: F. RERNIES, Physician of the Familty of Montpellier (about A.D. 1656)-s work, the very name of which avows its importance, and its known scarcity, its value, and hence so highly and desirable as a record of Indian Affairs, as the most important Historical event that has engaged either Scholar or Historian ;-a work so important in itself and written by an Eye-witness of that important transaction which forms the great Fra of Hindoostence reference as the foundation of another Dynasty, -claims the first place in the estimation, and search-and would do if as casily attainable, as it is now scarce-in the Library of every Indian Antiquarian,-a work that is not more known to, than it is prized by, every lover of ORIKNTAL LITERATURE, - while at the same time, it is now so scarce, - that even a transient and hasty eight of it is a treat burdly obtainable—as a volume that requires (as is did in the present instance) years of patient and persevering search to procure. Forming as it does the basis of every document that relates to the celebrated AURUNGZERE,-it is by this alone, self-avowed to be of the greatest importance. Every attempt that is made by scientific research or literary labour to

elucidate the history and establish the truth of any record regarding Hindomian—this mighty aggregate of former kingdoms; must derive its materials from and refer to this work, because—it is the only authentic source of that information which an Eye-witness (and an eye-witness alone) can afford—as well as being the testimony of an European. By hirth an European who had every advantage of time and place, under most favourable circumstances. I by Education of a liberal profession—by Situation a Physician—and as such occupying the first of all possible opportunities for observation—unsuspected, and peaceably allowed access to every attainable particular—attending the ROVAL FAMILY, who were the contending partices—be would hear, and see, and know, All that wan to be, or heard, or seen or known, and more than probably reasons and resources which publicly informed with all the PRIVATE reasons and resources which publicly informed the Great contending particulars and resources which publicly informed the Great contending that transparent which publicly informed the Great contending particulars and resources which publicly informed the Great contending particulars and resources which publicly informed the Great contending particulars are while his situation thus placed for so long a time not

him in possession of every information of the native character, under all its various and varying modifications, at such an eventful period who then could possess greater or so great salvantages t—as if I myldentially placed there to record by simple historical detail, the passine

events he witnessed as they occurred.

It is therefore proposed to reprint the London Edition (* Englished out of French ') of 1671. And it is further proposed to do this availtered, that a work so scarce, so valuable and studesinable may be easily procurable (as easy as it has hitherto been difficult) by every person who wishes to present it, either as a depository in the Library, or a companion for the sitting-room: For the contemplation of the Philosopher, or the instruction of Youth.

It shews at once the Native Spirit of the Country and the manner in which their revolutions are accomplished: while the mighty and sudden effects that are produced-changeable or lasting-shew at once that overruling power which directs and disposes the wills and affections of men! by results as unexpected as they were undesigned. While at the same time it exhibits the powerful contrast of European and Christian clemency in the present rule of England, throughout-her immense possessions, and almost boundless Empire in the same Land; on the one hand Fire and Sword, Blood and Carnage, Desolation and Havoc, Robbery and Destruction mark the path of the NATIVE conqueror in every way; while on the other hand Peace and Plenty-Forbearance and Security unite the Olive Branch with the Laurel to crown the CHRISTIAN Victories and make them the means of dispensing every advantage to soothe, to comfort and reward Native sufferings. The native victories succeed but to destroy-the English conqueror only to preserve and improve-the Native and the Christian therefore are alike interested in every event recorded in this History (of the MOGAL REVOLUTION) both in its cause and effect-and the influence it has produced on the character and Country at large: that character and Country which is being enlightened with all that the Native can receive, or the European bestow in whatever is useful, or attainable in the present state of human intellect.

ELEVEN YEARS of continued solicitude have been employed in searching for the Copy of a work now obtained and at last by accident:—a perseverance only stimulated by the known judgement of that enlightened friend who first named and of another who lately recommended it—the conviction of its importance, the pleasure of making its possession general—and the Hope that it would meet with that encouragement which it deserves! It is then presumed, that those laudable intentions are not over-rated in fixing the price of the volume at 15 Rupees for Subscribers only: and 20 for non Subscribers, on or after the 15th February next, on which day it is intended that the work shall appear well printed in a large Type, on fine paper and occupying about 300 pages 8yo neatly half bound and Lettered.

Bombay, 15th January 1830.]

Calcutta 1506.] 2 vols. Travels in the Mogul Empire by Francis Bernier. Translated from the French by Irving Brock. Calcutta, R. C. Lepage and Co., Printers and Publisher.

[A reprint of the edition No. 17, with the addition of several typographical errors. It is not edited in any sense, and the title-page is undated.]

A description of Dehli and Agra. The capital cities of the Empire of the Great Mogol, by Monsieur Bernier, Physician and companion of Danishmand Khan. Written at Dehli, 1st July 1663.

22 Delhi 1872.

1 vol. 12mo.

[This is a reprint, in 102 pages, of the letter to Monsleur de la Mothe le Vayer, from the third volume of the London edition of 1672. All the old errors are reproduced; at page 77 the amusing one about the 'toothpick,' see page 214 of the present edition. No imprint or date, but a preface of three pages, signed W. H. T., and dated The Camp, Dehli, January 1st, 1872, which however gives no new facts, and is based upon the information contained in Bernler's own narrative. Outside cover, white paper, bearing a crescent and star in red, and half-title; DEHLI AND AGEA in the time of AURANGEIB.

Price one rupee.

IL-WITH OTHER WORKS.

Relación de el Estado presente de el Gran Mogol segun la que imprimio el Doctor en Medecina Francisco Burnter año de 90.

23 Eruscelas 1701. Svo.

[In don Sebastian Fernandez de Mediano's Relaciones Modernas. Pages 68-85. A mere abstract, but cleverly done.]

Mr. F. Bernier's Voyage to Surat : containing the History of the late Resolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol; together with the most London 1745, considerable Passages for five years following in that Empire. which is added a letter to the Lord Colbert, etc. etc. Forming pages 102-236, vol. ii., of 'A Collection of Voyages and Travels . . . compiled from the cursous and valuable library of the Earl of Oxford. . . . London, Thomas Osborne, 1745."

24 Follo.

[A modernised reprint of the English editions of 1671.72, with various additional errors and misprints.]

Reife bee Beren Bernier in bas Ronigreich Rachemir. Forming chapter axiv. (pp. 99-128) of vol. al. of Allgemeine hifterie ber Meifen Lelpzin 1759. ju Baffer und ju Canbe . . Leipzig, ben Artfice und Mertus, inch

部 Quarto.

[A useful compilation. More especially devoted to the Kashmir journey and description of that country. A few notes and references to other travellers, such as Roc. At page 106, a full-page engraving, titled Kanchenara Begum, a fancy picture, but founded upon authentic details. The engravings in Valentyn's Reathersting . . . aum de Levens der Grows Megels, 1726, having been utilised for this and other similar pictures, such as ' Begum Saheb,' 'Chuh Johan,' etc., Inserted in other parts of the same volume as illustrations to abridgments of other Eastern travellers. The map of India in two sheets, which forms a frontispiece to this volume, compiled from the latest maps by M. Bellin, ing. de la Marine 1752, is valuable.]

26 Quarto.

Voyage de Bernier au Royaume de Kachemire. Pages 179-210 of A Have 1755, vol. xiii. of Prévost d'Exiles' Histoire Générale des Voyages, ou Nouvelle Collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par

terre . . A La Haye, chez Pierre de Houdt, 1755.

[A French translation of No. 25. Copy of the engraving of Rauchenara Begum at page 188. French edition of Bellin's map, and in addition a French translation of Valentyn's Map of the Kingdom of Bengal. Engraving of Begum Saheb inserted at back of plate of Rauchenara, not as in the German edition.]

London 1811. Quarto.

Bernier's voyage to the East Indies; containing the history of the late revolution of the empire of the Great Mogol, etc. etc. Pages 57-234 of vol. viii. of John Pinkerton's general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a new plan.

[A reprint of No. 24, with a few minor alterations. At page 64, a full-page engraving of Fort Gwalior from the North-west, after the view by Hodges. At page 150, N.E. view of the Cotsea Bhaug [Kudsia Bagh] on the river Jumna at Dehli, after Daniell.]

28 Paris 1816. Octavo.

Voyage de Bernier à Cachemire. Chapter x., pages 169-232 of vol. v. of Abrégé de l'Histoire générale des voyages . . . Par J. F. Laharpe. Paris, Ledoux et Tenré, 1816.

[A tolerably full abridgment of Bernier's Journey to Kashmir.]

29 Paris 1833. Octavo.

Bernier. Voyage à Cachemire (1638 (sic)-1670). Pages 84-108 of vol. xxxi. of 'Histoire universelle des voyages effectués par mer et par terre dans les cinq parties du Monde, sur les divers points du Globe. . . Revus ou Traduits par M. Albert Montémont. Paris, Armand-Aubrée.' [1833.]

[A cleverly written précis from a literary point of view. The date 1638 is evidently a misprint for 1658.]

Other Works by François Bernier.

- I. Anatomia ridiculi Muris, hoc est, dissertatiunculæ J. B. Morini adversus expositam à P. Gassendi philosophiam, etc. Lutetiae, 1651,
- 2. Favilla ridiculi Muris, hoc est, dissertatiunculæ, ridicule defensæ a J. B. Morino, astrologo, adversus expositam à Petro Gassendi, Epicuri Philosophiam, etc. Lutetiæ, 1653, 4°.

3. Abrégé de la Philosophie de Gassendi en viil. tomes. Lyon, 1658, S*.

[This is the first complete edition. Separate parts of the work were published, first at Paris in 1674 and 1675, and of Lyon in 1676.]

- 4. Seconde édition, reveile et augmentée per l'autheur. 7 tom. Lyon, 1654, tz'.
- 5. Three Discourses of Happiness, Virtue, and Liberty. Collected from the works of the learn'd Gastendi, by Mozaieur Bernler. Translated out of French. London: Printed for Awasiam and John Churchil [ric], at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1699, 8°.
- 6. Requeste des mattres ès-arts, professours et régents de l'Université de Paris, présentée à la Cour souveraine du l'arnasse, ensemble l'Arrest intervenu sur la dite requeste contre tous ceux qui prétendant faire enseigner ou croire de nouvelles découvertes qui ne soient pas dans Aristote.

(This is entirely distinct from Boileau's L'Asret burlesque. It was circulated in sheets during 1671. Both pieces are mentioned in the Letters of Mme. de Sévigné, 6th and 20th Sept. 1671, and they were published by Gabriel Cueret at La Haye the same year, in a volume entitled, 'La Guerre des Auteurs anciens et modernes,' pages 179-201. The two pleces were also published in 24 pages, 12" at Libreville in 1703, and they also appear in the editions of 'Menagiana' of 1715 and 1715.]

2. Eclalicissement sur le tivre de M. de la Ville (le père Le Valois, jésuite) intitulé: Sentimens de M. Descartes touchant l'essence et les

propriétés des corps, etc.

[This is included in Bayle's 'Recueil de quelques pièces concernant la philosophie de M. Descartes, 1684. In his preface he states that a few copies had been printed for private circulation some years before, probably either in 1680 or 1681.]

- Doutes de Mr Bernier sur quelquesuns des principaux Chapitres de son Abrégé de la Philosophie de Gausendi. Paris, 1682, 12°.
- 9. Nouvelle division de la terre par les différentes espèces d'hommes qui l'habitent, envoyée par un fameux voyageux à M. l'abbé de la ****. [This appeared in the fournal des Savants, April 1684, and in the Mercuré de France of 1722]
- 10. Traité du Libre, et du Volontaire (Doute i.-iii. Extrait d'un fivre de la Providence et du Destin par Hieroclea.) Amsterdam, 1685, 12°.
 - 11. Lettre sur le Café.

[Addressed to Philippe Sylvestre Dufour and printed at 172 207-216, in his work entitled "Traiter Nouveaux e curieux du Caié, du Thé, et du Chocolate, pages 207-216. Lyon, 1685, 12°. 22. Extrait de diverses pièces envoyées pour éstreines à Mme. de la Sabilère.

[This appeared in the fournal des Savants, the 7th and 14th June 1688. It comprises the following articles: Introduction à la lecture de Confucius; Description du canal de jonction des deux mers; Cambat des vents; Maximes touchant le mouvement; Des hifractions; Epitaphe de Chapelle; Observations médicales communiquées par un professeur de Montpellier. The Description du canal du Languedoc appeared originally in the 'Mercure Galant,' February 1688.]

- Copie des Etrenes envoyées à Madame de la Sablière. [Montpellier, 1688] 4".
- 14. Mémoire de M^r Bernier sur le Quiétisme des Indes. [This appeared in the 'Histoire des ouvrages des Sçavana,' Sept. 1688, pages 47-52.]

Biographies and Miscellanea.

t. Vincenții Panvrgi Epistola de tribus impostoribus, ad Clarfestmum virum Ioan. Baptistam Morinym, etc. Paristis, 1654, 4°.

In this violent attack upon Gassendi the author informs us? 'Hane autem epistolam inscripti titulo De Tribus Impostoritus, scilicot Petro Gassendo Epicureo Philosopho, Francisco Bernerio, Anatomista murium, et Neuraco Pictone, Archipactiogo? Titulo quidem famoso, sed in his hominibus minime falso.' For an exhaustive account of the many polemical treatises which appeared under the same title about the beginning of the 17th century, see De Tribus Impostoribus M.D. Hectaria Lalin, collectional sur Inscriptions de Duc de la Valliere. Augmenti de variantes de platiture manuscrite, etc., et d'une notice philosophus et bibliographique par Philosophus Landor, Paris. Gay 1801.]

- 2. Io. Ilapt. Morini doctoris medici, et regil mathematym professoris Defensio avæ dissertationia do Atomia et Vacno; nducreus Petri Gassendi Philosophiam Epicuream, contra Francisci Bernerii, Andegani Anatomiam ridiculi muros, etc. Paristis, 1657, 4°.
- 3. François Bernier: In Niceron's 'Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes Illustrés,' etc., vol. xxiii. pp. 364-370. Paris, 1733, 12'. [This article, which contains many facts correctly stated, all doubt-fal dates, etc., being avoided, has formed the basis of many authoritent.

ful dates, etc., being avoided, has formed the basis of many subsequent biographical articles until the appearance of the Angevin literature; see Nos. 12-16 below.]

4. François Bernier: In vol. i. of Eloy's Dictionnairs historique de la Militaine. Liège and Franciort, 1735, 2 vols. S.

[Short, but correct as far as it extends. In the second edition of Eloy, Mons, 1778, 4 vols. 4to, this notice is much extended, and in it will be found the earliest exact mention of Bernier's birthplace, 'Jouar près de Gonnord en Anjou.' M. Eloy concludes by a kindly reference to Bernier's observations on the medical science of the 'Brachmanes,' which he styles the earliest account of any philosophical value.]

5. François Bernier: In the 'Biographie Universelle,' vol. iv. pp. 304-306. Paris, 1811, 8°.

[Signed W[alckenae]r. A valuable article, based upon No. 3.]

- 6. In The Edinburgh Review for October 1815, in an article on certain accounts of parts of Western Asia, Elphinstone's Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, then just published, is criticised. The Reviewer characterises that work as being more of a treatise on the country visited, than a narrative of travels, and, quoting Elphinstone's eulogium on M. Volney's book on Syria and Egypt says (p. 417): 'But though the systematic fulness and method with which information is conveyed be an indisputable advantage of that mode of writing chosen by M. Volney and imposed upon Mr. Elphinstone by his situation, yet the reader must regret the absence of the picturesque and dramatic qualities of narrative, which, combined with the greatest accuracy and extent of knowledge, render Bernier the first of travellers, and which, without these substantial merits, bestow a powerful interest on the romantic adventures and relations of Bruce.'
- 7. Review of the 'Voyages of François Bernier,' in The Retrospective Review, vol. i., sec. ser., London 1827, pp. 245-268. [The Amsterdam editions of 1699 and 1710 are those reviewed. Extracts are given from Brock's translation, which is characterised as 'very good . . Although we could have wished that more copious notes had brought the work to a level with the Oriental knowledge of the present day.']
- 8. In The Quarterly Review for January 1828, in an article on Bishop Heber's Indian Journals, etc., mention is made in a footnote, pp. 126-7, of Mr. Brock's translation of Bernier's Travels in the Mogol Empire, which is styled 'good.' The writer of the article further states that, 'If any of our readers are unacquainted with this excellent old traveller, we beg leave to tell them that his account of India is the most picturesque of all that have preceded Heber's; nor can we imagine anything more interesting than to compare his descriptions of the barbaric splendour of the court of Aurengzebe with the Bishop's account of his visit to his descendant, the present pageant-king of Dehli. We are sorry our limits prevent us from quoting the parallel passages. The mutability of human fortunes was never more strikingly pourtrayed.'

9. François Bernier: In 'Vies de plusieurs personnages célèbres, etc., by C. A. Walckenaer, vol. ii., pp. 74-77. Laon, 1830, 8°. [A reprint of No. 5, with corrections and additions.]

- 10. François Bernier: In vol. i. of *The lives of celebrated travellers*. By James Augustus St. John, forming vol. ii. of Colburn and Bentley's National Library, London, 1831. [An abstract of Bernier's travels, with an account of his life founded upon the preceding article (No. 9) by Walckenaer, covering pages 192-220; well done, all the salient features being adequately brought forward.]
- 11. François Bernier: In 'Biographie Universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne.. nouvelle édition.. Paris, 1854 [et seq.] Vol. iv. pp. 78, 79. [Signed W[alckenae]r, a mere reprint of No. 5.]
- 12. Éloge de François Bernier. Rapport de la Commission. Par Dr. E. Farge.

[In the 'Annales de la Société Linnéenne du Département de Maine

et Loire, 3º Année, 1858, pp. 338-353.]

13. François Bernier, philosophe, médecin, et voyageur, par Dr. Pompée Mabille. Cosnier et Lachèse : Angers, 1864, 8°.

14. Les Correspondants de François Bernier, pendant son voyage

dans l'Inde, par L. De Lens.

[In the 'Mémoires de la Société Nationale d'Agriculture, Sciences, et Arts d'Angers,' 1872, vol. xv., pp. 129-176. Angers, 1872. Reprinted in book form at Angers the same year.]

15. Documents inédits ou peu connus sur François Bernier, par

L. De Lens.

[In the 'Revue Historique, Littéraire, et Archéologique de l'Anjou,' for 1872-73, vol. i. (Nouvelle série, illustrée), pp. 161-177, 332-348; vol. ii. pp. 75, 92.]

16. François Bernier, by L. De Lens. [In Célestine Port's 'Dic-

tionnaire Historique,' vol. i., pp. 325-328. Paris, 1874, 8°.]

[It would be impossible to overstate the value of all that is contained in Nos. 12-16. The original and authentic material there made known for the first time must for ever form the basis of all succeeding Bernier Literature.]

DEDICATION, ETC.





TO THE KING



The Indians maintain that the mind of a man cannot always be occupied with serious affairs, and that he remains forever a child in this respect: that, to develop what is good in him, almost as much care must be taken to amuse him as to cause him to study. This may be true with regard to the natives of Asia, but judging by all the great things I hear said everywhere regarding France and her Monarch, from the Ganges and the Indus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, unto the Seine, I have some difficulty in believing this to be a saying capable of universal application. Nevertheless I will still venture to offer HIM this History, because it seems to me capable of affording some hours of amusement to a King, who might wish to find occasional relaxation from weighty affairs of State; not only because it is a Tragedy which I have just seen acted in one of the largest Theatres in the World, but from the fact of its being varied by several great and extraordinary incidents, affecting one of the most illustrious of the Royal Families of Asia. I cannot, however, doubt that it is

written in a style devoid of elegance, and somewhat badly arranged, but I hope that His Maskery will chiefly take into His eonsideration the subject, and that His will consider it nothing very extraordinary that during my long absence, whether wandering about the World, or attached to a Foreign Court, my language may have become semi-barbarous. Moreover, I am well pleased to return from such a distance, not quite empty-handed before His Maskery, and lay claim by this means to render Him some account of so many years of my life, spent in absence from His Kingdom, for I have always remembered, no matter how far away I may have been, that I had a Master to whom I was accountable, being,

HIS MAJESTY'S

Most humble and most obedient Subject and Servant, F. BERNIER.

CANCANCANCANCANCAN

TO THE READER.

I will not recount to you in a formal manner the Manners and Customs, the Learning and the Pursuits of the Mogols and the Indians, but will endeavour to make them known to you through Facts and actual Occurrences, by describing in the first place a Civil War and Revolution in which all the leading Statesmen of that nation took a part, adding thereto, that you may the better understand my narrative, a Map of the Country, which however I do not desire to put forth as absolutely correct, but merely as less incorrect than others that I have seen. Secondly, by relating some of the most important events which took place between the end of the War and my leaving the country; and thirdly, by means of Correspondence, which appears to me necessary to accomplish my purpose.

Should I be so fortunate as to succeed, I shall feel encouraged to publish other Letters concerning my Travels, and to translate from the Persian an Abridgment of an Ancient and Important History of the Kings of Kachmire, which was compiled by order of King Jehan-Guyre, the son of that great Ekbar who so skilfully contrived to possess himself of that Kingdom.

1 See p. 393, footnote 1.





An Extract of a LETTER Written to Mr. H. O.1 FROM

Monsr. de Monceaux the Younger, Giving a Character of the Book here Englished, and its Author.



Exture sometimes is no less interessed than Affection: Both, Sir, are glad to receive from time to time pledges mutually answering for those that have united themselves in a close correspondence. Yours indeed should demand

of me such, as might be a security to you for the advance, you have been pleased to make me of your Friendship. But since of present I have nothing worth presenting you with; and yet am unwilling to give you any leisure to be diffident of my realness, or to repent for having so easily given me a share in your exteem, I here send you a Relation of Indontan, in which you will find such considerable occurrences, as mill make you confess I could not causey to you a more acceptable present, and that Monsteur Bernier who hath written it, is a very Gallant man, and of a would, I wish all Travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of Unsetledness than Curiosity, with a designe to see Towns and Countries rather than to know their Inhabitants and Productions; and ne stay not long enough in a place to inform ourselves well of the Gavernment. Policy, Interests, and Manners of its People.

1 Mr. Henry Ouldinburgh; see entry No. 10 of the Liblingraphy, p. axx ante.

Monsieur Bernier, after he had benefited himself for the space of many years by the converse of the famous Gassendi; seen him expire in his arms, succeeded him in his Knowledge, and inherited his Opinions and Discoveries, embarqued for Ægypt, stay'd above a whole year at Cairo, and then took the occasion of some Indian Vessels that trade in the Ports of the Red Sea, to pass to Suratte; and after twelve years abode at the Court of the Great Mogol, is at last come to seek his rest in his native Countrey, there to give an Accompt of his Observations and Discoveries, and to poure out into the bosome of France, what he had amassed in India.

Sir, I shall say nothing to you of his Adventures which you will find in the Relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greediness of the Curious, who prefer their satisfaction to his quiet, and do already persecute him to have the sequel of this History. Neither shall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the neighbourhood of Mecca; nor of his prudent conduct, which made him merit the esteem of his Generous Fazelkan, who since is become the first Minister of that Great Empire, whom he taught the principle Languages of Europe, after he had translated for him the whole Philosophy of Gassendi in Latin,1 and whose leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a select number of our best European Books, thereby to supply the loss he should suffer of his Person. This, at least, I can assure you of, that never a Traveller went from home more capable to observe, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; that I knew him at Constantinople, and in some Towns of Greece, of so excellent a conduct, that I propossed him to myself for a Pattern in the designe I then had to carry my curiosity as far as the place where the Sun riseth; that I have often drowned in the sweetness of his entertainment the bitternesses, which else I must have swallowed all alone in such irksome and unpleasant passages, as are those of Asia.

¹ Petri Gassendi . . . opera omnia in sex tomos divisa . . . Lugduni sumptibus Laurentii Anisson, & Ioan. Bapt. Devenet M.DC. lviii, is the edition here referred to.

Sir, you will do me a pleasure to let me know the sentiment your Illustrious Society 1 hath of this Piece. Their approbation begets much emulation among the Intelligent, who all have no other Ambition than to please them. I my self must avow to you, that if I thought I could merit so much, I should not so stiffly oppose as I do, the publication of the Observations and Notes I have made in the Levant. I should suffer my friends to take them out of my Cabinet, where from the slight value I have for them, they are like to lie imprisoned, except the King my Master, by whose order I undertook those Voyages, should absolutely command me to set them at liberty, and to let them take their course in the world. Mean time, Sir, you will oblige me to assure those Great Men, who this day compose the most knowing Company on Earth, of the Veneration I have for the Oracles that come from their Mouth, and that I prefer their Lyceum before that of Athens; and lastly, that of all their Admirers there is none, that hath a greater Concern for their Glory, than

Paris, Julij 16, 1670.

De Monceaux.

¹ The Royal Society, of which Henry Ouldinburgh was the first Secretary; see Appendix v.



THE HISTORY

OF

THE LATE REBELLION





THE HISTORY

OF THE LATE

REBELLION

IN THE STATES

OF THE GREAT MOGOL

HE desire of seeing the world, which had induced me to visit Palestine and Egypt, still prompted me to extend my travels, and I formed the design of exploring the Red Sea from one end to the other. In pursuance of this plan, I quitted Grand Cairo, where

I had resided more than a year, and in two-and-thirty hours (travelling at a Caracan-rate) reached the town of Sues. Here I embarked in a galley, and was conveyed in seventeen days, always hugging the coast, from Sues to the port of Gidda, half a day's journey from Mecca. Contrary to my expectation, and in violation of a promise which I had received from the Beigl of the Red Sea, I was constrained to land on this so-called holy territory of Mahomet, where no Christian, who is not a slave, dares set his foot. After a detention of nearly five weeks, I took my passage on board a small

The Bey of the Red Sea was an important official who, among other duties, had control of the pilgrim traffic to Mecca, through Jeddah.

vessel, which, sailing along the shores of Arabia Felix, brought me in fifteen days to Moka, near the straits of Bab-el-mandel. It was now my intention to pass over to the island of Masowa, and Arkiko, on my way to Gonder,1 the capital of Habech,2 or Kingdom of Ethiopia; but I was informed that Catholics were not safe in that country, since the period when, through the intrigues of the Queen-Mother, the Portuguese were slaughtered, or expelled, with the Jesuit Patriarch whom they had brought thither from Goa; and that, in fact, an unhappy Capuchin had been recently beheaded at Suaken,3 for having attempted to enter the kingdom. It seemed, indeed, that less risk would be incurred if I adopted the disguise of a Greek or an Armenian; and that when the King knew I could be of service to him, he would probably make me a grant of land, which might be cultivated by slaves, if I possessed the means of purchasing them; but that I should, at the same time, be compelled to marry immediately, as a monk, who had assumed the character of a Greek physician, had already been obliged to do; and that I could never hope to obtain permission to quit the country.

These considerations, among others which may be mentioned in the sequel, induced me to abandon my intention of visiting Gonder. I embarked, therefore, in

¹ Gondar, more correctly Guendar, formerly the capital of the Amharic kingdom of Abyssinia, with which there was a considerable trade to India. In the erection of its Fort—a massive building, designed on the plan of a medieval stronghold, and built in the 16th century—Indian workmen were employed. It contained many Christian churches, and Venetian artists are said to have had a hand in the decoration of some of them. Bernier proposed to visit it, vid Massowah, the well-known town on an island of the same name on the Abyssinian coast of the Red Sea, from thence crossing over to the mainland at the town of Arkiko, or Ercico.

² From the Arabic *Habash*, the country of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia. The *Abash* of Marco Polo. *Hubshee* is the modern Hindostanee term for all negroes.

³ Suakin, or more correctly Sawákin, was then, as it still is, the chief port of the Soudan on the Red Sea.

an Indian vessel, passed the straits of Bab-el-mandel, and in two-and-twenty days arrived at Sourate, in Hindoustan, the empire of the Great Mogol. I found that the reigning prince was named Chah-Jehan, or King of the World. According to the annals of the country, he was the son of Jehan-Guyre, or Conqueror of the World, and grandson of Ekbar, or the Great: so that in tracing his genealogy upwards to Houmayon, or the Fortunate, the father of Ekbar, and to Houmayon's predecessors, Chah-Jehan was proved to be the tenth, in regular descent, from Timur-Lengue, the Lame Lord or Prince, whom we commonly, but corruptly, call Tamerlan.1 This Tamerlan, so celebrated for his conquests, married a kinswoman, the only daughter of the prince who then reigned over the people of Great Tartary called Mogols; a name which they have communicated to the foreigners who now govern Indoustan, the country of the Indous, or Indians. It must not, however, be inferred that offices of trust and dignity are exclusively held by those of the Mogol race, or that they alone obtain rank in the army. These situations are filled indifferently by them and strangers from all countries: the greater part by Persians, some by Arabs, and others by Turks. To be considered a Mogol, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mahometanism;2 in contradistinction to the Christians of Europe, who are called Franguis,3 and to the Indous, whose complexion is brown, and who are Gentiles.4

¹ Amír Timúr, styled Sáhib Kirán, because he reigned more than thirty years, was born in 1336, and died in 1405. Called Timúr Lang (*Timúr i Leng*) from some defect in his feet. He married the sister of Amír Husain, the ruler of Balkh, the capital of Khurásán, whom he had deposed and put to death.

² See pp. 212, 404.

³ Firinghees, from the Persian Farangl, i.e. a Frank, a European.

⁴ In the original 'Gentils,' which throughout this edition will be rendered by the word Gentiles, in preference to using the old Anglo-Indian slang word 'Gentoo,' derived from the Portuguese Gentio, a gentile, a heathen, a term which was applied to the Hindoos in contradistinction to the Moros (old Anglo-Indian 'Moors'), or Muhammadans.

I learnt also on my arrival that this King of the World, Chah-Jehan, who was about seventy years of age, was the father of four sons and two daughters; that some years had elapsed since he elevated his sons to the vice-royalty of his four most considerable provinces or kingdoms; and that he had been afflicted, for about the space of a twelvemonth, with a disorder which it was apprehended would terminate fatally. The situation of the father having inspired the sons with projects of ambition, each laid claim to the empire, and a war was kindled among them which continued about five years.

This war, as I witnessed some of the most important of its events, I shall endeavour to describe. During a period of eight years I was closely attached to the court; for the state of penury to which I had been reduced by various adventures with robbers, and by the heavy expenses incurred on a journey of nearly seven weeks, from Sourate to Agra and Dehli, the chief towns of the empire, had induced me to accept a salary from the Great Mogol, in the capacity of physician; and soon afterwards, by chance, I procured another from Danechmend-Kan,² the most learned man of Asia, formerly Bakchis, or Grand Master of the Horse, and one of the most powerful and distinguished Omrahs,³ or Lords of the Court.

The eldest son of the Great Mogol was named Dara, or

¹ Sháh Jahán, the third son of the Emperor Jáhángír, was born at Lahore in 1593, and died in prison at Agra in 1666. He had four daughters, but Eernier mentions the eldest and the youngest only.

⁹ A Persian merchant, by name Muhammad Shafi, or Mulla Shafi. He came to Surat about the year 1646, from which place he was sent for by the Emperor Shah Jahan, who conferred upon him the command of 3000 men, and made him paymaster of the army (Bakhshi) with the title of Danishmand Khan (Learned Knight). In the reign of Alamgir he received still further promotion, and was appointed Governor of Shahjahanabad or New Delhi, where he died in 1670.

Omrah, from Umará, the plural of the Arabic word Amir, a commander, a chief, a lord. The old travellers use the word Omrah as a singular for a lord or grandee, although properly speaking it

should be applied collectively.

Darius: the second Sultan Sujah, or the Valiant Prince: the third was Aureng-Zebe, or the Throne's Ornament; and the name of the youngest was Marud-Bakehe, or the Desire Accomplished. Of the two daughters, the elder was called Begum-Saheb, or the Chief Princess; and the younger Hanchenara-Begum, the Light of Princesses, or Princess of the Enlightened Mind.

It is named in this country to give similar names to the members of the reigning family. Thus the wife of Chah-Jehan—so renowned for her beauty, and whose splendid mausoleum is more worthy of a place among the wonders of the world than the unshapen masses and heaps of stones in Egypt—was named Tage Mehalle,2 or the Crown of the Seraglio; and the wife of Jehan-Gizgre, who so long wielded the sceptre, while her husband shandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation, was known first by the appellation of Nour-Mehalle, the Light of the Seraglio, and afterwards by that of Nour-Jehan-Begum, the Light of the World.

The reason why such names are given to the great, instead of titles derived from domains and seigniories, as usual in *Europe*, is this: as the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no carldoms, marquisates or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pensions, either in land or money, which the king gives, augments, retrenches or takes away at pleasure.

Agrangeel, who ascended the throne in 1655 under the title of Alamgie (Conqueror of the World), was born in 1619, and field in 1707. Murid Bakhah, both in 1624, and mordered by order of Anrangeel in 1662.

Dárá Shikoh was born in 1615, and muniered by order of his brother Aurangreb in 1659. Saltan Shujáh, born in 1616, is said to have been drowned with all his family in Arakan by the Rájá of that country in 1660, but see pp. 111-114.

² Properly, Mumtas Mahal, daughter of Asal Khan, warir, the brother of Nor Jalain Begum, wife of the Emperor Jahangir. She was born in 1592, married in 1612, and died in child-bed a few hour after the birth of her daughter Raushan Ará Begum, in the year 1631.

It will not, therefore, appear surprising, that even the Omraha are distinguished only by this kind of title. One, for instance, calling hunself Raz-Andaze-Kan, another Safe-Cheken-Kan, a third Bare-Andaze-Kan; and others Dianet-Kan or Danechmend-Kan, or Fazel-Kan; which terms respectively signify The Disposer of Thunder, The Destroyer of Ranks, The Hurler of the Thunderbolt, The Faithful Lord, The Learned, and The Perfect; and so it is with others.

Dara was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous in conversation, quick at repartee, polite, and extremely liberal; but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whose counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disdainfully of those who ventured to advise him, and thus deterred his sincerest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his brothers. He was also very irascible; apt to menace; abusive and insulting even to the greatest Omraha; but his anger was seldom more than momentary. Born a Mahometan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to its faith, Dara was in private a Gentile with Gentiles, and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about him some of the Pendets, or Gentile Doctors, on whom he bestowed large pensions, and from these it is thought he imbibed opinions in no wise accordant with the religion of the land : but upon this subject I shall make a few observations when I treat of the religious worship of the Indone or Gentiles. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Reverend Father Busie, a Jesult, in the truth and propriety of which he began to acquiesce.1 There are persons, however, who

¹ Catron in his History of the Magul Dynasty in India, Paris, 1715, which is largely based upon the materials collected by Signor Manouchi, a Venetian, who was for forty-eight years a Physician at the Courts of

say that Daca was in reality destitute of all religion, and that these appearances were assumed only from motives of curiosity, and for the sake of amusement; while, according to others, he became by turns a Christian and a Gentile from political considerations; wishing to ingratiate humself with the Christians who were pretty numerous in his corps of artillery, and also hoping to gain the affection of the Rajas, or Gentile Princes tributary to the empire; as it was most essential to be on good terms with these personages, that he might, as occasion arose, secure their co operation. Dara's false pretences to this or that mode of worship, did not, however, promote the success of his plans; on the contrary, it will be found in the course of this narrative, that the reason assigned by Aureng-Zebe for causing him to be beheaded was, that he had turned Kafer, that is to say an infidel, without religion, an idolater.

Sultan Sujah, the second son of the Great Mogol, resembled in many characteristic traits his brother Dara; but he was more discreet, firmer of purpose, and excelled him in conduct and address. He was sufficiently dexterous in the management of an intrigue; and by means of repealed largesses, bestowed secretly, knew how to acquire the friendship of the great Omraha, and, in particular, of the most powerful Rajas, such as Jessimsringue's and others. He was, nevertheless, too much a slave to his pleasures; and once surrounded by his women, who were exceedingly numerous, he would pass whole days

Delhi and Agra, and for some time attached to Dark's person, mya that 'no sooner had Dara begun to possess authority, than he became disdainful and inaccessible. A small number of Europeans alone shared his confusence. The Jesuits, especially, were in the highest consideration with him. These were the Fathers... and Henry Busce, a Fleming. This last had much influence over the mind of the prince, and had his counsels been followed, it is probable that Christianity would have mounted the throne with Dark!

The Mahamia Jaawant Singh, of Jodhpur, who was one of Alamgir's best generals, holding the rank of commander of 7000. He died near Kabul in 1078. and nights in dancing, singing, and drinking wine. He presented his favourites with rich robes, and increased or diminished their allowances as the passing fancy of the moment prompted. No courtier, who consulted his own interest, would attempt to detach him from this mode of life: the business of government therefore often languished, and the affections of his subjects were in a great measure alignated.

Sultan Sujah declared himself of the religion of the Persians, although his father and brothers professed that of the Turks. Mahametanism is divided into various seets, which occasioned the following distich from the pen of the famous Cheik-Sady, author of the Ganliston.

I am a drinking Derviche: I am apparently without religion: I am known by the seventy-two sects.³

Among all these seets there are two leading ones whose respective partisans are mortal anomies to each other. The one is that of the Turks, called by the Persians Osmanlous, or Followers of Osman, whom the Turks believe to have been the true and legitimate successor of Mahamet, the Great Caliph, or Sovereign Pontiff, to whom alone it belonged to interpret the Koran, and to decide the controversies that occur in the law. The other is that of the Persians, called by the Turks, Chias, Rafrays and Aly-Merdans; that is, Sectaries, Hereties, and Partisans of Aly; because the Persians believe that this succession and pontifical authority, of which I have just spoken, belonged only to Aly the son-in-law of Mahamet.

When he avowed himself one of the latter sect, Sultan Sujah was evidently actuated by motives of policy; for as

If y this he meant that he was to be numbered among the lost, alinding to the saying of the Prophet Muhammad, 'It shall come to pass that my people shall be divided into three-and-seventy sects, all of which, save only one, shall have their portion in the fire.' 'Tis said that the reason why the Prophet pitched on the number seventy-three was, that the Magians were divided into seventy sects, the Jewa into seventy-one, and the Christians into seventy-two.



Fate 1.- Prints Americals.

the Persians were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the Court of the Mogol, he hoped thus to secure interest and support, whenever the tide of events should render them necessary.

Aureng-Zebe, the third brother, was devoid of that urbanity and engaging presence, so much admired in Dara: but he possessed a sounder judgment, and was more skilful in selecting for confidents such persons as were best qualified to serve him with faithfulness and ability. He distributed his presents with a liberal but discriminating hand among those whose goodwill it was essential to preserve or cultivate. He was reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation. When in his father's court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Decan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn Fakire, that is to say, a beggar, a Dermine or one who has renounced the World; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrank from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life had been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Dava, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character. The high opinion expressed by Chah-Jelian of his son Aureng-Zebe, provoked the envy of Dara, and he would sometimes say to his intimate friends, that, of all his brothers, the only one who excited his suspicion, and filled him with alarm was that Nemozi-or, as we should say, 'that Rigot,' that ever-prayerful one.

Morad-Bakche, the youngest of the Mogol's sons, was inferior to his three brothers in judgment and address. His constant thought was how he might enjoy himself,

and the pleasures of the table and of the field engaged his undivided attention. He was, however, generous and polite. He used to boast that he had no secrets: he despised cabinet intrigues, and wished it to be known that he trusted only to his sword and to the strength of his arm. He was indeed full of conrage; and if that courage had been under the guidance of a little more discretion, it is probable, as we shall see, that he would have prevailed over his three brothers, and remained the andisputed master of Hindowstan,

Begum-Suheh, the elder daughter of Chah-Jehan, was very handsome, of lively parts, and passionately beloved by her father. Rumour has it that his attachment reached a point which it is difficult to believe,1 the justification of which he rested on the decision of the Mullahr, or doctors of their law. According to them, it would have been unjust to deny the King the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted. Chah-Jehan reposed unbounded confidence in this his favourite child; she watched over his safety, and was so cautiously observant, that no dish was permitted to appear upon the royal table which had not been prepared under her superintendence.2 It is not surprising, therefore, that her ascendency in the court of the Mogol should have been nearly unlimited; that she should always have regulated the humours of her father, and exercised a powerful influence on the most weighty concerns. This Princess accumulated great riches by means

Catron says, 'To a great share of beauty Region-Saeb united a mind endued with much artifice. The attachment she always lad for her father, and the profusion of the avaricious Cha-Jaham (rie) towards his daughter, caused a suspicion, that crime might be blended with their mutual affection. This was a popular rumour, which never had any other foundation than in the malice of the courtiers.'

This statement is repeated by Valentyn, in his Busheyoing . . . van de Levens der Groote Megals, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1726, in these words:— Begun Sahek, die om haare schoonheit van haaren Vader seer, ja te veel, bemind wierd.

² See p. 16 text, and footnote 1.

of her large allowances, and of the costly presents which flowed in from all quarters, in consideration of numberless negotiations intrusted to her sole management. The affairs of her brother Dara prospered, and he retained the friendship of the King, because she attached herself steadily to his interest, and declared openly in favour of his party. He cultivated with assiduous attention the goodwill of this valuable coadjutor, and it is thought promised that, on his accession to the throne, he would grant her permission to marry. This pledge was a remarkable one, the marriage of a Princess being of vare occurrence in Hindowston, no man being considered worthy of royal alliance; an apprehension being entertained that the husband might thereby be rendered powerful, and induced perhaps to aspire to the crown.

I shall introduce two anecdotes connected with the amours of this Princess, and hope I shall not be suspected of a wish to supply subjects for romance. What I am writing is matter of history, and my object is to present a faithful account of the manners of this people. Love adventures are not attended with the same danger in Europe as in Asia. In France they excite only merriment; they create a laugh, and are forgotten: but in this part of the world, few are the instances in which they are not followed by some dreadful and tragical catastrophe.

It is said, then, that Begam-Saheb, although confined in a Seraglio, and guarded like other women, received the visits of a young man of no very exalted rank, but of an agreeable person. It was scarcely possible, surrounded as she was on all sides by those of her own sex whose envy she had long provoked, that her conduct should escape detection. Chah-Jehan was apprised of her guilt, and resolved to enter her apartments at an unusual and unexpected hour. The intimation of his approach was too sudden to allow her the choice of more than one place of concealment. The affrighted gallant sought refuge in the capacious cauldron used for the baths. The King's coun-

tenance denoted neither surprise nor displeasure; he discoursed with his daughter on ordinary topies, but finished the conversation by observing that the state of her skin indicated a neglect of her costonary ablotions, and that it was proper she should bathe. He then commanded the Ennucles to light a fire under the cauldron, and did not retire until they gave him to understand that his wretched victim was no more.

At a subsequent period, Beguin-Saheb formed another attachment, which also had a tragical termination. She chose for her Kane-Saman, or steward, a Persian, named Nazerkan, a young nobleman remarkable for grace and mental accomplishments, full of spirit and ambition, and the favourite of the whole court. Chah-Hestkon,1 the uncle of Aureng-Zebe, greatly esteemed this young Persian. and ventured to propose him for Begum-Saheb's husband; a proposition which was very ill received by the Mogal. He had indeed already entertained some suspleion of an improper intercourse between the favoured Nobleman and the Princess and did not long deliberate on the course he should pursue. As a mark of distinguished favour the King presented the betel, in the presence of the whole court, to the unsuspecting youth, which he was obliged immediately to masticate, agreeably to the custom of the country. Betel is a small parcel made of aromatic leaves

Shilata Khan, who, when Covering of Bengal, provoked a war with Job Charmock, Governor of the Factory of the East India Company at Goldghat near Hughli. He died in 1694, aged 93 lunar years, after having filled many important offices of State under Shah Jahan, and Alamgir.

* In the original 'an listiny,' the leaf of the Piper letel, Lin., chewed with the dried areca-nat, thence improperly called betel nut; a very old mistake. Detel is from the Portuguese beth, derived from the Malayalim settile = simple or mere lent. Familiar to Anglo Indians as Pawn, in Hindostance Pán, from the Sanskrit parses a lent. 'Pawn-soopare' (impéri, the areca-nut in Urdú) is the well-known name in Northern India at the present day for the combination, as detailed by Bernier, offered to viniters with the (otto) of roses, or other scents, which politicly intimates the close of an entertainment, a friendly visit, or an official interview.

and other ingredients mixed up with a little of the lime made from sea-shells, this colours the lips and mouth red and agreeably perfumes the breath. Little did the anhappy lover imagine that he had received poison from the hand of the smiling Monarch, but indulging in dreams of future bliss, he withdrew from the palace, and ascended his paleky.\(^1\) Such, however, was the activity of the poison, that he died before he could reach home.

Rauchenara-Begum, the Mogol's younger daughter was less beautiful than her sister, neither was she so remarkable for understanding; she was nevertheless passessed of the same vivacity, and equally the votary of pleasure. She became the ardent partisan of Aureng-Zebe, and made no secret of her enmity to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This might be the reason why she amassed but little wealth, and took but an inconsiderable part in public affairs. Still, as she was an immate of the Seraglio, and not deficient in artifice, she succeeded in conveying, by means of spics, much valuable intelligence to Aureng-Zebe.

Some years previous to the war, the turbulent disposition of his four sons had filled Chah-Jehan with perplexity and alarm. They were all married and of adult age; but, in after disregard of the ties of consunguinity, each, animated by deadly hatred toward the others, had set up his pretensions to the crown, so that the court was divided into separate factions. The King, who trembled for his personal safety, and was tormented by sad forebodings of the events which actually befol him, would gladly have confined his refractory children in Goualcur, a fortress which had often received members of the royal family within its walls, and considered impregnable, situated as it is on an inaccessible rock and containing within its walls good water and sufficient wherewithal to support its

² The Hindoetanee word palki, from the Sanderit palpanks, a bed, a palankin (Portuguese, palancking), the well-known closed in litter, with a pole projecting before and behind, which is borne on the shoulders of four or six men.

garrison; but he justly considered that they had become too powerful to be dealt with in so summary a manner. He was indeed in perpetual apprehension of their having recourse to arms, and either creeting independent principalities, or converting the seat of government into a bloody arena, in which to settle their personal differences. To save himself, therefore, from some impending and overwhelming calamity, Chah-Jehan resolved to bestow upon his sons the government of four distant provinces. Sultan Swinh was appointed to Bengale ; Aweng-Zebe to the Decan : Morad-Bakche to Guzarate; and Dara to Caboul and Moultan. The three first-mentioned Princes repaired to their respective provinces without delay, and soon betrayed the spirit by which they were animated. They acted in every respect as independent sovereigns, approprinted the revenues to their own use, and levied formidable armies under pretence of maintaining tranquillity at home, and commanding respect abroad. Dara, because he was the eldest son and expected to succeed to the crown, did not quit the court of his father. Chak-Jehan, appearing to encourage that expectation, authorised his son to issue orders, and permitted him to occupy an inferior throne, placed among the Omralis, beneath his own; 1 so that two kings seemed to reign with almost equal power;2 but there is reason to believe that the Mogol practised much duplicity. and that, notwithstanding the respectful and affectionate

¹ Carrou says that the influence of Dará grew to an autonishing height during the absence of his brothers. 'His eldest son ruled the empire with absolute power. A sopha had been prepared for him, lower, itseleed, than the throne of his father; but he is the only instance of a prince of the Mogol race being allowed to be scated in the presence of the Emperor. He had the power to command a combat of elephants whenever he pleased; a distinction reserved only for the appearagn.'

³ Bernier appears to have had in his mind the saying of S'adi contained in the chapter of the Guilitain on the Manners of Kings: 'It has been observed that ten Darweshes may sleep upon one blanket, but that one kingdom cannot contain two Kings.

demeanour of Dara, his father was never cordially attached to him. The old monarch lived in continual dread of being poisoned, and carried on, it is supposed, a secret correspondence with Aureng-Zebe, of whose talents for government he always entertained a high opinion.

I have thought a slight sketch of Chah-Jehan and his sons a proper introduction to this history, and necessary to the right understanding of what is to follow. Nor could I well avoid adding a few particulars concerning his two daughters, who play so prominent a part in the tragedy. In the bulier, as well as in Constantinople and other places, the most momentous events are too often caused by the influence of the sex, although the people may be ignorant of this fact, and may indulge in vain speculations as to the cause of the agitation they deplore.

It may also elucidate my narrative to revert to the proceedings of Aureng-Zebe, of the King of Gollonda, and of his Vizier Emir-Jemla a short time before the war broke at: this may give my renders an insight into the character and genius of Aureng-Zebe, the hero of this history, and the future King of the Indies.

We shall first see in what manner Emir-Jemla laid the foundation of the power and supremacy of Chak-Jehon's third son.

During the time that Aureng-Zehe was intrusted with the government of the Decan the King of Golkonda had for tim Vizier and general of his armies this Emir-Jemla, a Persian by birth,² and celebrated throughout Hindowstan. The Vizier's lineage was not noble, but his talents were of the first order: he was an accomplished soldier, and deeply

In the original 'craignant sur tout le Boucon,' a curious fact not commonly known, also tee onte, p. 11, where it is stated that the Emperor's food was prepared under the superintendence of the Segum Sahib.

Mir Muhammad Sald Ardistánf, surnamed Mir Jumla and afterwards entitled Mu'azram Ehin, Khin Khanin Sipoh Salár, was born in Ardistan near Lipahan, and came to India as the personal attendant of a Peralan merchant. It was in 1636 that he threw himself on the

versed in business. His wealth, which was prodigious, he had acquired, not only by the opportunities afforded him as chief minister of an opulent kingdom, but likewise by means of his extensive commerce with various parts of the world, as well as by the diamond mines which he farmed under feigned names. These mines were worked with indefatigable industry, and it was usual to count his diamonds by the sacks-full.1 His political influence, it may readily be imagined, was also very great, commanding as he did not only the armies of the king, but keeping in his own pay a formidable body of troops, with a corps of artillery composed principally of Franks or Christians. It ought likewise to be mentioned that the Vizier having found a pretext for the invasion of the Karnatic,2 pillaged the whole of its ancient idol-temples, and thus increased his pecuniary resources to an incredible amount.2

protection of Shah Jahin. On the accession of Aurangzeb he was appointed Governor of Bengal and died at Khizarpur in Kinch Behai in 1663 after his return from an expedition against the kingdom of Assau. Amir Junia is called, by Catron, Mirza Mulla. See footnote a below. Tavernier also makes use of this name when writing of him.

tide Theyenot says that he possessed 20 mans, or 408 Dutch livers, weight of diamonds. The man (Surat) of de Theyenot may be taken as 40 seers, or 35'5 English pounds avoirdupois.

² *Le Royanne de Karnater' in the original, which is a very correct definition of the country, which then had its northern limit at Bhiar, and may be said to have embraced the Canarese-speaking people of southern India.

Catron hears out Bernier's narrative, and says that Amír Jamla was in the habit of selling the best diamonds to the Portuguese. 'Dom Philippes Mancarenhas, and as Viceroy of the Imites for the Portuguese at Goa, was his principal correspondent. The object of Mirra Mulla [an Catron calls Amír Jumia] was to secure to himself the protection of the Portuguese, in the event of a change of fortune. The Persian who found himself supported no longer placed any limits to his peculations. He plundered the temples of their idols; he seized upon all preclous stones with which the statues were unamented; he compelled the inhabitants of the Kantatic to surrender to him whatever they possessed of gold and jewels; and he caused those who, according to the custom of the country, had buried their treasures, to expire under the severity.

The jealousy of the King of Golhouda¹ was naturally awakened: and he eagerly, but silently, sought an opportunity to destroy, or remove from his presence, one whom he regarded as a dangerous rival rather than no obedient subject. Surrounded by persons devoted to the interest of the minister, he felt the pradence of concealing his intentions; but in an unguarded moment, when informed for the first time of the improper intimacy subsisting between Emir-Jemla and the queen-mother, who still retained much beauty, he gave utterance to the feelings by which he had so long been oppressed, and denounced vengeance against this powerful offender.

The Vizier was at this time in the Karnatic; but, every important office at court being filled by his own and his wife's relations and friends, he was soon made acquainted with the danger which awaited him. This crafty man's first step was to write to his only son Mahmet Emir-Kan,

of the lash. So many cruelties rendered him hateful in his Province; and such great wealth created him envy at Court.

Tavernier in his Therech in India makes frequent mention of Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas, the Viceroy of Goa, who had formerly been the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. He first naw him at Goa on the zad January 1648 and says of him- 'He possessed a quantity of diamonds-all stones of great weight from 10 to 40 carats; two notably, which he showed me when I was at Goa. One of them was a thick stone, weighing 57, and the other 674 carnts, both being fairly clear, of good water and Indian cut.' Dr. V. Ball, in his exceedingly valuable edition of Tavernier's Travels, London 1889, has proved that the carat used by Tavernier was the Florentine, equal to 3'04 gra, troy, which is 4 per cent, lighter than the English carat of 3 17 grs. troy. The great Mascarenhas diamond would therefore have weighed 64 carnis English. The Dom was immensely wealthy, but he did not live to return to Europe with his ill-gotten gains, having died on board the vessel on which he was returning from Goa to Portugal. Tayernier states that the report was that he was poisoned and that it was held to be a just punishment for his having made away with many persons in the same manner, especially when he was Governor in the island of Ceylon.

¹ Abdulish Kuth-Shah, the sixth Sultan of the Kuth-Shahi dynasty of Golkonda; he died in 1674.

² Mir Muhammad Amin.

then with the King, to arge his immediate departure from court, under any false pretext, and to represent the necessity of his joining him in the Karnatic: but he found it impossible to clude the vigilance with which he was guarded. Disappointed in this, the Vizier's next measure was at once bold and original, and it brought the King of Golkonda to the very verge of destruction: so true it is that he who cannot keep his own counsel cannot preserve his crown. Jemla addressed a letter to Aureng-Zebe, at this time in Daulet-Abad, the metropolis of the Decan, to the following effect:

'I have rendered, as all the world knows, essential services to the King of Golkonda, and he owes me a heavy debt of gratitude. Nevertheless, he is plotting my ruin and that of my family. May I be permitted, therefore, to throw myself under your protection? In acknowledgment of the kindness I anticipate at your hands, I suggest a plan by which you may easily obtain possession both of the King's person and kingdom. Confide in my integrity, and the enterprise will neither be difficult nor dangerous: assemble four or five thousand of your choicest cavalry, and proceed by forced marches towards Golkonda, which may be reached in sixteen days, spreading a rumour that this body of horse is escorting an ambassador from Châlh-Jehan, who has affairs of moment to negotiate with the King at Bogasquer.

¹ The Fort of Daulathinid, anciently called Deogarh, was from a remote period the stronghold of the rulers of the Decean. After Assungate's death in 1707 this forcess and other Mogul territory in the Decean passed into the hands of Asaph Jah, a distinguished general in Assungate's service, the founder of the Nizam's dynasty, in whose family they have remained ever since.

² Bhágangar, the 'Fortunate City,' called after Bhágmail the favourite mistress of Knib Sháh Muhammad Knil, who founded it in 1589, removing his seat of government from Golkonda, about 7 miles distant, on account of its want of water and general unhealthiness. The distant, as Kháli Ehán states that some time after the death of Bhágmaid the name was changed to Haidarálaid (Hyderabad), but that in the vernscular language of the people it continued to be called Shagnagar. It is now the chief city and capital of the Haidarábád State.

The Dabir, through whose medium the first communication is always made to the King, is my relation—my creature—and entirely in my confidence; you have only to advance with rapidity, and I promise so to order it, that you shall arrive at the gate of Bag-neguer without exciting a suspicion that you are any other than an ambassador from Chah-Jehan. When the King advances, according to custom, to receive the credentials, you may easily secure his person, then his whole family, and dispose of him in the manner you may deem fit, inasmuch as his palace of Bag-naguer where he usually lives is unwalled, and without a ditch or fortifications of any sort. Meanwhile I will defray the whole expense of the expedition, and engage to pay fifty thousand rupees daily during the time it may be

in progress."

Aureng-Zehe, ever intent upon projects of ambition, immediately adopted the measures proposed in this letter. He proceeded at once towards the territory of the King of Golkanda, and with such address was the plot conducted, that when the Prince reached Bagnaguer, no one doubted that this formidable body of horse accompanied an embassy from the Great Mogol. The King, as is usual on similar occasions, repaired to his garden for the purpose of receiving the pretended ambassador with appropriate ceremony and honour; and while unsuspiciously approaching his perfidious enemy, he was about to he seized by ten or twelve slaves-Georgians-as had been projected, when an Omrah, who was in the conspiracy, touched with sudden remorse and compassion, exclaimed, Your majesty is lost if you do not instantly fly; this is Aureng-Zehe, and no ambassador. It would be superfluous to describe the King's consternation: he fled from the spot, and, mounting the first horse he could find, rode at full speed to

The Dabir-ul-Mulk, who exercises the functions of a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is still a very important official at the Aighan and other Oriental courts.

the fortress of Golkonda,1 distant only a league from Bag-

naguer.

Although disappointed of his prey, Aureng-Zebe felt that that there was no occasion for alarm, and that he might securely prosecute his endeavours to obtain possession of the King's person. The entire spoliation of the palace was his next act. He stript it of all its costly contents. but sent the women to the King, according to a custom most scrupulously observed amongst Eastern despots. He then determined to besiege the King in his fortress. but as he was without a sopply of the necessary numitions of war the siege was protracted, and Chah Jehan, two months after its commencement, peremptorily commanded his son to relinquish his enterprise, and return without delay to the Decan; so that, although the fortress had been reduced to the last extremities from the want of provisions and war material, he was obliged to retire.

Aureng-Zebe was aware that in issuing these orders, the Mogol was influenced by Dara and Begum [Saheb], who foresaw that if permitted to pursue his designs against the King of Galkonda, he would become too powerful. The Prince, however, betrayed no resentment, but acknowledged the duty of implicit obedience to his father's commands. Before he retired he received ample indemnification for the expense of the armament, and stipulated that Emic-Jemla should have free permission to remove with his family, property, and troops, and that the silver coin of the realm should in future bear the arms of Chah-Jehan. Moreover, he married his son Saltan Mahmoud? to the King's eldest daughter, exacted a promise that the young Prince should be nominated successor to the throne of Golkonda, and received, as the Princess's

^{&#}x27; Situated in a commanding position on a granite ridge. It is now used as the Nizam's treasury and a State prison.

^a Subria Mahammad, who was polioned in Dec. 1676 at Sallingarh (Delhi) by his father's coder (Storia do Megor, il. 195).

dowry, the fortress of Ram-gayre,1 with the whole of its appurtenances.

These two great men, Emir-Jenda and Aureng-Zebe, were not long together before they planned great enterprises, and while returning to the Decan, they besieged and captured Bider, 2 one of the strongest places in Fisapour, 2 They then proceeded to Daulet-Abad, in which city they lived upon terms of the closest intimacy, forming gigantic plans of future aggrandizement. Their union may be remembered as an important epoch in the history of Hindunian: it prepared the way for the greatness and renown of Aureng-Zebe.

Jemla, who had by his address contrived to obtain frequent invitations to the court of Chah-Jehan, repaired at length to Agra, and carried the most magnificent presents, in the hope of inducing the Mogol to declare war against the Kings of Golkonda and Firapour, and against the Portuguese. On this occasion it was that he presented Chah-Jehan with that celebrated diamond which has been generally deemed unparalleled in size and beauty. He dilated with earnestness on the benefits which would accrue from the conquest of Golkonda, whose precious stones were surely more deserving of his consideration than the rocks of Kandahar, whither the Mogol was about

³ Bijdpur, the great Moslem State, founded by a son of Murad it, the Ottoman Emperor who succeeded to the throne in 1422. Bernler

follows the Hindoo form of the name, Vijayapura.

Rümgiri, about 113 miles to the north-east of the town of Hyderabad.
Elidar, about 75 miles to the north-west of the town of Haklarahaid (Hyderabad). Noted for the metal ware, bldari (bidice) work, to which it has given its name.

A Not the least valuable part of Dr. Hall's edition of Tavernier's Travels, is his identification of this diamond with the world-renowned gent the Koh-s-mir, or Mountain of Lustre,' which he has been able to do by a comparison of Tavernier's drawing of the Great Mogul's diamond with models of the Koh-s-mir as it was when brought to England in 1850, and by a scientific stiting of other evidence. For an abstract of Dr. Hall's account, which he has kindly sanctioned and revised, together with extracts from Catron, relating to Amir Jurala, see Appendix II.

to lead an army: his military operations in that kingdom ought not to cease, he said, until the conquest of his arms extended to Cape Comory.¹

The diamonds may have produced their effect upon the mind of Chak-Jehan; but it is the more received opinion that he was glad of a pretext for raising an army which should restrain the growing insolence of his eldest son; and that it was for this reason he entered into the views of Jemia.

Whatever were his motives, he resolved to send an army towards the Decan under the Emir's command.

Darn had incurred his father's displeasure by his recent and undisguised attempts to become paramount in power and authority : but there was one set of his which Chah-Jehan regarded with peculiar horror and indignation, and which he was least disposed to forgive,-the murder of Vizier Saduilah-Kan,3 a nobleman whom the Magol considered the most accomplished statesman of Asia, and for whom he felt a warmth of friendship that became quite proverbial. What was the offence which Dava judged worthy of death is not ascertained. Perhaps he apprehended that in the event of the King's demise, the powerfol ascendency of the Vizier might leave the crown at his disposal, and that he would place it on the head of Sultan Sanah, whose party he seemed to favour; or it is possible Dora may have been influenced by the reports promulgated respecting the intentions of Sadullah-Kau, who, from being an Indian [Hindoo] by birth, had excited the jealousy of the Persigns at court. One of these rumours was, that

¹ The seciral and correct name of that Cape, the most southern point of India, Comorin being a Pertuguese corruption of Kamari ('a virgin').

In the Shift Jakin-name of Inayat Khin, it is stated that Shidullah Khin, 'Aliami, died from the effects of a severe and pumful attack of colic. The Wazir, who was considered the most able and apright minister that ever appeared in India, died in 1636. Catron also records that Dari was accused of having caused Sadullah Khin to be puismed.

after the death of *Chah-Jehan*, the Vizier designed to exclude the *Mogols* from the throne, and either to restore the royal race of the *Patans*, 1 or usurp the crown for himself or his son. His wife was a *Patan*; and it was pretended that he kept a well-appointed army of that people, cantoned in various parts, to aid him in accomplishing his project.

It was evident to Dara that to send troops to the Decan was in effect to increase, by so many men, the strength of Aureng-Zebe. He opposed the measure, therefore, with many arguments and entreaties, and by every art he could devise. Finding it, however, impossible to move Chah-Jehan from his purpose, he persuaded him to impose certain conditions, by which Aureng-Zebe should engage to abstain from all interference in the conduct of the war; fix his residence at Daulet-Abad; confine his attention to the government of the Decan; and also that the Emir should retain the absolute and undivided command of the army: leaving the whole of his family at court, as hostages for his fidelity. This last clause was extremely offensive to Jemla; but Chah-Jehan prevailed with him to yield compliance, assuring him that this stipulation was intended only to satisfy the caprice of his son, Dara, and that he should soon be followed by his wife and children. The Emir put himself at the head of a fine army, with which he marched into the Decan: and without tarrying in that country, entered Visapour, commencing his operations with the siege of Kaliane,2 a place of considerable strength.

Such was the state of *Hindoustan* when the *Mogol*, who had passed his seventieth year, was seized with a disorder, the nature of which it were unbecoming to describe. Suffice it to state that it was disgraceful to a man of

¹ The Lódí Pathán dynasty of Delhi having been crushed by the Mogul invasion of Babar Sháh in 1526.

² Káliání, about 30 miles to the west of Bidar, in what is now part of the Haidarábád (Hyderabad) State.

his age, who, instead of wasting, ought to have been careful to preserve the remaining vigour of his constitution.¹

The Mogol's illness filled the whole extent of his dominions with agitation and alarm. Dara collected powerful armies in Dehli and Agra, the principal cities of the kingdom. In Bengale, Sultan Sujah made the same vigorous preparations for war. Aureng-Zebe in the Decan, and Morad-Bakche in Guzarate, also levied such forces as evinced a determination to contend for empire. The four brothers gathered around them their friends and allies; all wrote letters, made large promises, and entered into a variety of intrigues. Dara, having intercepted some of these letters, showed them to his father, inveighing bitterly against his brothers; and Begum [Saheb], his sister, availed herself of so advantageous an opportunity to prejudice the Mogol against his three rebellious sons: but Chah-Jehan placed no confidence in Dara, and suspecting he had a design to poison him, swallowed no food without the utmost fear and caution. It is even thought that he corresponded at this time with Aureng-Zebe, and that Dara, being apprised of the circumstance, was transported with rage to such a degree as to threaten his father. Meanwhile, the King's distemper increased, and it was reported that he was dead: the whole court was in confusion; the population of Agra was panic-stricken; the shops were closed for many days, and the four Princes openly declared their settled purpose of making the sword the sole arbiter of their lofty pretensions. It was, in fact, too late to recede: not only was the crown to be gained by victory alone, but in case of defeat life was certain to be forfeited. There was now no choice between a kingdom and death: as Chah-Jehan had ascended the throne by imbruing his hands in the blood of his own brothers, so the unsuccessful candidates on the present

¹ This illness was in September 1657, when Sháh Jahán was upwards of 64 years of age.

occasion were sure to be sacrificed to the jealousy of the conqueror.

Sultan Sujah was the first who took the field. He had filled his coffers in the rich country of Bengale by utterly rulning some of the Rojas or Kinglets of that region, and by plundering others. He was therefore enabled to raise a numerous army; and confiding in the support of the Persian omrahs, whose religious views he had embraced, advanced rapidly on Agra. He issued a proclamation which set forth the death of his father by poison from the hand of Dara, and declared his determination both to avenge so foul a murder, and to occupy the vacant throne. Chah-Jehan, at the instance of Dara, hastened to undecrive him in regard to the rumour of his decease; the mulady was giving way, he said, to the power of medicine, and he expressly commanded him to return forthwith to his government of Bengale. But as Sultan Sajah's friends at court represented the Emperor's disorder as incurable, he continued his march toward the capital, pretending that he was too well convinced of the death of his revered parent, and that if, contrary to his expectation, he should be yet alive, he was desirous of kissing his feet, and receiving his commands.

Aureng-Zehe also published his proclamations, and put his forces in motion, much at the same time as Sultan Sujah. He, too, was meditating an advance on Agra when he received a similar prohibition, both from the King and from Dara; the latter of whom menaced him with punishment if he quitted the Decan. He dissembled, however, like his brother of Bengale, and returned a similar answer; but as his finances were not abundant, and his army was comparatively small, he endeavoured to obtain by fraud what he could not hope to gain by arms. The immediate dapes of his artifice were Morad-Bakche and Emir-Jemla. In a letter to the former he said;—

"I need not remind you, my brother, how repugnant to my real disposition are the toils of government. While

Dara and Sultan Sujah are tormented with a thirst for dominion, I sigh only for the life of a Fakire. But, although renouncing all claim to the kingdom, I nevertheless consider myself bound to impart my sentiments to you, my friend, whom I have always tenderly loved. Dora is not only incapable of reigning, but is utterly unworthy of the throne, masmuch as he is a Kufer-an idolater-and held in abhorrence by all the great Omrahs. Sultan Sujah is equally undeserving the crown; for being avowedly a Hafery-an heretic-he is of course an enemy to Hisdaustan. Will you then permit me to say that in you alone are to be found the qualifications for roling a mighty empire? This opinion is not adopted by myself only; it is likewise entertained by the leading nobles, who esteem you far your matchless valour, and are anxious for your arrival in the capital. With respect to myself, if I can exact a solemn promise from you that, when king, you will suffer me to pass my life in some sequestered spot of your dominions, where I may offer up my constant prayers to heaven in peace, and without molestation, I am prepared immediately to make common cause with you, to aid you with my counsel and my triends, and to place the whole of my army at your disposal. I send you one handred thousand roupies, of which I entreat your acceptance, as an earnest of my best wishes. The time is critical, you should, therefore, not lose one moment in taking possession of the easile of Sourale, where I know the vast treasure of the State to be deposited."

Mornd-Rakche, whose wealth and power were comparatively limited, received his brother's proposals, accompanied as they were by so large a sum, with great delight, and was beyond measure elated at the prospect which now presented itself to him. The letter was everywhere exhibited, in expectation that the young men would be induced by its contents to enter with cheerfolness into his army, and that it might dispose the opulent merchants more willingly to lend the large sums he was exacting

with undeviating rigour. He now assumed all the consequence and authority of a king; was profuse in his promises, and contrived everything so successfully that he soon collected a pretty numerous army. From this army it was his first care to detach three thousand men, under the command of *Chah-Abas*, a eunuch, but a valiant soldier, to lay siege to the castle of *Sourate*.

Aureng-Zebe next turned his thoughts on Emir-Jemla. He sent to him his eldest son Sultan Mahmoud (whom he had married to the King of Golkonda's daughter) with a request that he would come to him at Daulet-Abad, as he had intelligence of the greatest importance to impart. The Emir was at no loss to divine the nature of this intelligence, and refused to quit his army which was still engaged in the siege of Kaliane; alleging that he had recently received tidings from Agra, and could assure Sultan Mahmoud that Chah-Jehan was not dead. In no case, however, could he think of co-operating with Aureng-Zebe, while his wife and children were in Dara's power: his determination was fixed; he would not be a party in the present quarrel.

Finding it impossible to accomplish the object of his mission, Sultan Mahmoud returned to Daulet-Abad, extremely displeased with the Emir; but Aureng-Zehe, no way discouraged, sent another message by his second son, Sultan Mazum,⁴ who conducted his mission with so much address and urbanity, and made such protestations of triendship, that Emir-Jemla could not withstand the force of his solicitations. He vigorously prosecuted the siege of Kaliane, and having forced the garrison to capitulate, hastened to Daulet-Abad with the flower of his army.

¹ The Khwája Shahbáz of Kháfi Khán, who, in his history, says that after the fort of Surat was reduced, a ransom of fifteen lakhs of rupees was demanded from the merchants of the place, who eventually agreed to pay six.

² See p. 21. ³ See p. 24.

⁴ Muhammad Mu'azzam, who succeeded his father, Aurangzeb, with the title of Sháh Álam Bahádur Sháh, was born at Burhánpur in 1643, and died at Lahore in 1712.

Aureny Lebe received Emir-Jemla with the strongest professions of kindness, calling him ' Baba' and ' Babagy' [Baba Jil Father, and 'My Lord Father.' He embraced his welcome visitor a hundred times; and taking him aside, addressed him thus:-'I acknowledge the force of the objection made by you to Sultan Mahmond, and it is the opinion of my friends at court, who are men of judgment, that it would be extremely improdent, while your family are in the hands of Dara, to stir openly in my favour, or even to manifest the slightest disposition to promote the interest of my cause. But it is not for me to inform you that there are few difficulties which may not be overcome. A scheme has occurred to my mind, which, though at first it may surprise you, will, I doubt not, on reflection, appear to you well calculated to ensure the safety of your family. Suffer yourself to be confined in prison; it will have the effect of imposing upon the world, and we shall reap all the success we can desire from this plan: for who will ever imagine that a person of your rank could tamely submit to incarceration? In the mean time, I can coupley a part of your troops in any manner you think fit; and you will not perhaps refuse, in furtherance of our project, to supply me with a sum of money, according to the offer von have so repeatedly made. With these troops, and this money, I may safely try my fortune. Allow me, therefore, to conduct you to the fortress of Daulet-Abad where you will be guarded by one of my sons; we may then deliberate upon the means to be pursued, and I cannot conceive how my suspleion should arise in the mind of Dara, or how he can reasonably ill-treat the wife and children of one who is apparently my enemy."

I have authority for stating that such was substantially the language used by Aureng-Zehe. The considerations which dictated the Emir's answer to these strange propositions are not now so well known. It is certain, however, that he compiled with them, that he consented to place the troops under Aureng-Zebe's orders, to lend him

money, and, what is even more extraordinary, to be condueted to the fortress of Daulet-Abad. Some have thought that Emir-Jemla was really allured by the solerun assurance of advantages to be derived from his acquiescence, and that he was likewise influenced by the recollection of those yows of ardent and indissoluble friendship which had been so frequently interchanged between him and Aureng-Zebe. Others there are who, perhaps with more reason, believe that fear forbade him to withhold his assent, as the two sons of Aureng-Zebe, Sultun Mazum and Saltan Mahmond, were present at the conaccence; the former completely around, and assuming a fack that could not be mistaken; the latter indulging in unseemly grimaces, after having raised his arm in a manner which implied an intention of proceeding to violence: for the pride of this Prince was mortified because his brother's mission had been attended with better success than his own, and he was at no pains to conceal his resentment.

When the imprisonment of Emir-Lemia became known that portion of the army which had been brought from Fisapour demanded aloud the release of their commander, and would soon have opened the door of his prison, if they had not been appeased by the arts of Aureng-Zebs, who intimated to the superior officers that the Emir's confinement was quite voluntary, and a part, in fact, of a scheme understood between themselves. He was, besides, lavish of his presents: he promised advancement to the officers, and increased the pay of the private soldiers; giving them at once three months' advance as a pledge of his liberal intentions.

In this manner the troops lately under Jenia's command were persuaded to take part in the campaign meditated by Aureng-Zebe, who thus soon found himself in a condition to take the field. He first marched in the direction of Sourate for the purpose of accelerating the fall of that place, which persevered in a vigorous and unexpected resistance; but a few days after his army had been put in

motion he received news of the surrender of that town.' He then despatched a congratulatory letter to Mond-Bairhe; made him sequainted with all that had passed with Emîr-Jemla; told him he was now at the head of a formidable force; that he possessed abundance of money, that his understanding with the principal courtiers was complete; and that he was fully prepared to proceed towards Brampour? and Agra. He then urged him to hasten his march, and he fixed the place for the junction of the two armies.

Morad-Bakche was disappointed in the amount of treasure found in Sourate; perhaps it had been exaggerated by report; or the governor, as was generally suspected, had appropriated a large portion of it to his own use. The money of which he came into possession only sufficed to pay the soldiers, who had been induced to enlist by the expectation of the immense wealth which the walls of Sourate were believed to enclose. Nor ought the capture of the town to have increased the military reputation of this Prince : for, although destitute of regular fortifications, it yet baffled his utmost endeavours for more than a month; and he had made no progress in the siege until the Duich instructed him, for the first time, in the art of mining. The blowing up of a considerable part of the wall spread consternation in the garrison, and terms of capitulation were immediately proposed.2

The fall of Source facilitated the future operations of Microd-Bokche. It procured him a great name; mining is yet imperfectly known among the Indians, and nothing could have inspired them with more astonishment than the

² In January 1659.

² Buildingur, called Brampore and sometimes Bramport by the old travellers, on the river Tapit, in the Nimar District, Central Provinces. Founded about 1400, and held by independent Muhammadan Princes until 1600, when it was annexed to the Mogul Empire by Akbat. It was the seat of the government of the Decean until 1635 when Abrangabad took its place.

² See p. 25, footnote 1.

efficacious method in which this new art had been employed by Morad-Bakche. It was moreover universally believed that vast riches had fallen into his hands. But notwithstanding the fame acquired by this event, and all the dattering promises of Aureng-Zebe, the cannel Chah-Abus orged him to disregard the extravagant declarations of his brother, and not rashly to throw himself into his hands. 'Listen,' he said, 'while it is yet time, to my advice; amuse him with fair words, if you please; but do not think of joining him with your forces. Let him advance alone toward Agra. We shall by and by receive positive intelligence of your father's state of health, and see the course that events may take. In the mean time you may fortify Soumle, a most important post, which will secure to you the dominion of an extensive country producing a rich revenue, and with a little management you may become master of Brampour, also a town in a commanding situation, and the key, as it were, of the Decan."

But the letters daily received from Aureng-Zebe determined Morad-Bakche not to relax his exertions, and the wise counsel of the conneh Chak-Abas was rejected. This acute statesman had a warm and affectionate heart, and was sineerely attached to the interests of his master. Happy would it have been for the young prince if he had listened to his sage advice; but Morad was blinded by an mordinate thirst for dominion; his brother's letters were more and more expressive of his entire devotedness to his cause, and he considered that, if left to his own resources, he should never be able to realise those schemes of greatness that continually haunted his imagination. He therefore broke up from his encampment at Amed-Abad, abandoned Guzurule, and made the best of his way, over mountains and through forests, to the reinfezvous where Aureng-Zobe had halted some days in expectation of his orrival.

The junction of the armies was celebrated by great rejoicings and much festivity. The two brothers were

inseparable, and Aureny-Zehe renewed his professions of analterable affection and his protestations of complete disinterestedness. Of the kingdom, he repeated that he most assuredly entertained no thought; he had placed himself at the head of an army for the sole purpose of combating Dara, their common foe, and of seating Morad on the vacant throne. During the march of the armies toward the capital, Aureng-Zobe spoke in the same tone, and never omitted, either in private or public, to address his brother with the reverence and humility due from a subject to his sovereign, calling him Hazaret, 'King,' and 'Your Majesty.' Strange that Morad should never have suspected his honesty of intention, or that the late neferious transactions in Golkonda should have made so slight an impression on his mind! but this Prince was blinded by a wild ambition for empire, and incapable of perceiving that he who had recently incurred so much infamy by his attempt to avurp a kingdom could feel little inclination to live and die a Fakire.

The combined armies formed an imposing force, and their approach created a great sensation at the seat of government. Nothing could exceed the uncasiness of Davi, and Chah-Jehan was appalled at the threatening aspect of affairs. Whatever scope he permitted to his imagination, he could conceive no event, however momentous and fraught with evil consequences, which might not be brought to pass by the talents of Aureng-Zebe and the intrepidity of Murad-Bakehe. In vain did he despatch courier after courier announcing his convalescence, and assuring the two brothers that the whole of their proceedings should be buried in oblivion if they immediately returned to their respective governments; the united symies continued to advance, and as the King's malady was really considered mortal, the Princes had recourse to their usual dissimulation, affirming that the letters purporting to bear the King's sign-annual were forgeries by Dara: that Chah-Jehan was either dead or on the point

of death; and that if he should happily be alive, they were desirous of prestrating themselves at his feet, and Jelivering him from the thraklom in which he was held

by Dara.

Chah-Jehan's situation was indeed distressing :- afflicted with disease, and almost a prisoner in the hands of Dara, who, guided by a furious resentment, breathed nothing but war, and was unwearied in preparations for conducting it with vigour ;- while his other children, regardless of repeated injunctions, accelerated their march toward Agra. But what a sad alternative was left him in this extremity! his treasures, he saw, must be dissipated, abandoned to his sons, and squandered at their pleasure; he was compelled to summon around him his faithful and veteran captains, who were generally unfavourable to Dara, and whom nevertheless he must command to espouse his cause, and take the field against the other Princes, though in his heart the old monarch felt more affection for them than for Dara. The danger being most pressing on the side whence Sultan Sujah was advancing, an army was immediately sent against that prince, while another was assembled in order to encounter the combined forces of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakehe.

Solimus-Chekonh, Dara's eldest son, was the general nominated to the command of the corps sent to oppose Sultan Sujah's progress. He was about five-and-twenty years of age, of a fine person, not without ability, generous and popular. He was a favourite with Chah-Jehan, from whom he had already received great riches, and who intended him for his successor in preference to Dara. As the Mogol's chief anxiety was to avoid the cliusion of blood in this unnatural contest, he appointed an old Raja, named Jesseingue, to be the companion or counsellor of

Sulaiman Shikob, born in 1535, was poisoned in prison in the fort of Gwalior about 1660.

² Raja jai Singh t., of Jaipur (Jeypore), commonly called Mirat Raja's of the Rajawat branch of the Kachlwahas of Amber (Jaipur), 2

his grandson. Jesseingue is at present one of the richest Rojas in Hindousian, and perhaps the ablest man in the whole kingdom. The King gave him secret instructions to avoid, if possible, coming to an angagement, and to leave no method untried to induce Sujah to retrace his steps. 'Represent to my son,' he said, 'that not his duty alone, but also his policy, demand the reservation of his strength for a more justifiable and promising occasion: until my malady have terminated in death, or at least until the result of the united efforts of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche shall be ascertained.'

But all the efforts of Jesseingue to prevent a battle proved abortive. Soliman-Chekouh, on the one side, was full of military ardour, and ambitious of acquiring a great name; and, on the other, Sultan Sujah apprehended that if he delayed his march, Aureng-Zebe might overcome Dara and gain possession of the two capital cities, Agra and Dehli. Thus the two armies were no sooner in sight, than a heavy cannonade commenced; but I need not detain my readers by detailing the particulars of this action, especially as I shall have to describe others of greater consequence; it is sufficient to state that the onset was impetuous on both sides, and that after a warm struggle Sullan Sujah was obliged to give way, and at length to fly in confusion. It is certain that if Jesseingue and his bosom friend Delil-kan, a Patan and an excellent soldier, had not purposely held back, the rout of the enemy would have been complete, and their commander probably made prisoner. But the Raja was too prudent to lay his hands on a Prince of the Blood, the son of his King; and he acted conformably to the Mogol's inten-

Rájpút clan of great antiquity and renown. This clan traces its origin to Dhola Rei, who is said to have founded the State of Amber in 967 a.u., the present Mahárójá of Jaipur, being the thirty-faith from the Rai, Rájá Jal Singh t. died at Burhánpur on the 10th July 1667.

1 Diler Khan, a Daudesi Afghan, and younger brother of Bahadur

Khan, Robila, an Amir of high rank. He died in 1683.

tions when he afforded Sultan Sujah the means of escape. Although the loss of the enemy was inconsiderable, yet as the field of battle and a few pieces of artillery remained in Soliman-Chehouh's possession, it was immediately reported at court that he had gained a decisive victory.\(^1\) This affair, while it raised the reputation of Soliman-Chehouh, was injurious to that of Sultan Sujah, and the ardour of the Persians who favoured his cause was proportionably abated.

Soliman-Chekouh had been a few days employed in the pursuit of Sujah, when he received intelligence of the rapid and resolute march of Aureng-Zebe and Morad Bakche on Agra. Aware of his father's want of conduct and produce, and knowing that he was surrounded by secret enemies, he prudently determined to return to the capital, in the neighbourhood of which Dara would probably offer battle. Every one is of opinion that the young prince could not have adopted a wiser course; and that if he could have brought up his army in time, Aureng-Zebe would have gained no advantage, if Indeed he had ventured to engage in so unequal a contest.

Nowithstanding the success which had attended the arms of Soliman-Chekouh at Elabas? (where the Gemna falls into the Ganges) affairs took a very different turn in the direction of Agra. The government were struck with amazement when they heard that Anreng-Zebe had crossed the river at Brampour and forced his way through all the difficult passes in the mountains, on the successful defence of which every reliance had been placed. A body of troops was hastily despatched to dispute the passage of the river of Eugenes, while the main body of the army

According to Khafi Khan's account, the battle was fought near Benares in the month of December 1657.

⁵ Habbas, a corruption of Hababas, the old name of Allahabad, and will used by the people to designate the capital of the North-West Provinces.

a Ujjain (Ujein), on the river Sipra, the succent capital of Malwa, the Greenwich of the Hindon geographers, as their first meridian

was preparing to move forward. To command this body of troops, two of the most skilful, and, in point of personal influence, two of the most powerful men, were selected. The name of the one was Kasen-Kan, a soldier of first-rate reputation, sincerely attached to Chah-Jehan, but disliking Dara: he assumed the command very reluctantly, and only in obedience to the Mogol. The other was the Raja Jessomseingue, who in importance and authority yielded not to Jeisseingue. He was son-in-law of the famous and powerful Raja Rana, who lived in the reign of Ekhar, and was prince of the Rajas.

Dara addressed these two generals in the most affectionate terms, and presented them with costly gifts on their departure with the troops: but Chak-Jehan privately suggested the same measures of caution and forbearance, which were practised in the case of Salian Sajah. The consequence was that messenger after messenger was sent to Anreag-Zebe to beg that he would retire; but while there appeared this indecision on one side, all was activity and resolution on the other: the messengers never returned, and the enemy unexpectedly crowned an eminence at a short distance from the river.

passed through it; now one of the chief towns of the dominious of the Maharija Sindhia. Bernier refers to the District, not the town of Ujinin; "the passage of the river" being, "the ford of Akherpit," of Khafi Khan's account, which is still the Nethodda crossing of the Great Decean Road, about 16 miles due south of the old Fort of Mandi, and nearly 34 miles south-east of the military station of Mhow.

1 Nawab Kasim Khan Jawini, who held the rank of a communder of \$2000.

*Rijā Jaswant Singh. See footnote 1, p. 7. On his denth, in 1678, Alamgir attempted to force his children to become Moslema. This their attendants resisted, fighting valiantly when attacked by the Emperor's troops. They exaped safely to Jodhpur, but were compelled to take to the hills and woods. On the death of Alamgir in 1707, they regulated their former possessions.

3 The tenowned Ruma of Chittour),

* The Nerlands (Narbada), the boundary of the Uffain (Engines of Bernier) territory, about 70 miles to the south of the city of Uffain.

It was summer, and the heat was intense; 1 the river therefore became fordable. Kasem-Kan and the Raja prepared for battle on perceiving, as they apprehended, a disposition on the part of Aureng-Zebe to force the river. But in point of fact, the whole of his army was not yet come up, and this was only a feint; for he feared that the enemy's troops might themselves cross the stream, cut him off from the water, attack him before the soldiers had recovered from their fatigue, and thus prevent him from taking up an advantageous position. It appears certain, indeed, that he was at this time totally incapable of opposing any effectual resistance, and that Kasem-Kan and the Raja might have obtained an easy victory. I was not present at this first encounter; but such was the opinion entertained by every spectator, especially by the French officers in Aureng-Zehe's artillery. The two commanders, however, were compelled by their secret orders quietly to take a position on the banks of the river, and to content themselves with disputing the passage.

His army having rested two or three days, Aureng-Zebe made the necessary dispositions for forcing the passage. Placing his artillery in a commanding position, he ordered the troops to move forward under cover of its fire. progress was opposed by the cannon of the enemy, and the combat was at first maintained with great obstinacy. Jessomseingne displayed extraordinary valour, disputing every inch of ground with skill and pertinseity. With regard to Kasen-Kan, although it cannot be denied that he deserved the celebrity he had hitherto enjoyed, yet upon the present occasion he approved himself neither a dexterous general nor a courageous soldier: he was even suspected of treachery, and of having concealed in the sand, during the night that preceded the battle, the greater part of his ammunition, a few volleys having left the army without powder or hall. However this may be,

¹ The battle was fought on the 20th April 1658, 'near Dharmatpur,' according to the Alampir-nama.

the action was well supported, and the passage vigorously opposed. The assailants were much incommoded by rocks in the bed of the river; and the uncommon height of its banks, in many parts, rendered it extremely difficult to gain a footing on the other side. The impetuosity of Morad-Bakche at length overcame every impediment; he reached the opposite bank with his corps, and was quickly followed by the remainder of the army. It was then that Kasem-Kan ingloriously fled from the field, leaving Jessomseingue exposed to the most imminent peril. That undaunted Raja was beset on all sides by an overwhelming force, and saved only by the affecting devotion of his Ragipous,1 the greater part of whom died at his feet, Fewer than six hundred of these brave men, whose number at the commencement of the action amounted to nearly eight thousand, survived the carnage of that dreadful day. With this faithful remnant, the Raja retired to his own territory, not considering it prudent to return to Ages on account of the great loss he had sustained.2

The word Ragipous signifies Sons of Rajar. These people are educated from one generation to another in the profession of arms. Parcels of land are assigned to them for their maintenance by the Rajar whose subjects they are, on condition that they shall appear to the field on the summons of their chieftain. They might be said to form a species of Gentile nobility, if the land were inalignable and descended to their children. From an early age they are accustomed to the use of opium, and I have sometimes been astonished to see the large quantity they swallow. On the day of battle they never fail to double the dose, and this drug so animates, or rather inebriates

¹ Rajpun.

Khafi Khan in his account of the battle coys :— Every minute the dark ranks of the infidel Rajpits were dispersed by the prowess of the followers of Islam. Dismay and great fear fell upon the heart of January, their leader, and he, far from acting like one of the renowned class of Rajas, turned his back upon the hattle, and was content to bring upon himself everlasting infamy.

them, that they rush into the thickest of the combat unsersible of danger. If the Raja be himself a brave man, he need never entertain an apprehension of heing descrited by his followers: they only require to be well led, for their minds are made up to die in his presence rather than abandon him to his enemies. It is an interesting sight to see them on the eve of a battle, with the fumes of opinm in their heads, embrace and bid adieu to one another, as if certain of death. Who then can wonder that the Great Magol, though a Mahometan, and as such an enemy to the Gentiles, always keeps in his service a large retinue of Rajas, treating them with the same consideration as his other Omrahs, and appointing them to important commands in his armies?

I may here relate the disdainful reception experienced by the valiant Jessonseingue from his wife, a daughter of the house of Rana. When it was announced that he was approaching with his gallant band of about five hundred Ragipous, the melancholy remnant of nearly eight thousand, at the head of whom he had fought with noble intrepudity, quitting the field from necessity, but not with dishonour; instead of sending to congratulate the gallant soldier on his escape, and console him in his misfortune, she dryly commanded that the gates of the eastle should be closed

As the late Professor Blochmann has so ably demonstrated, in an article in The Calintia Kreiew, No. Civ. 1871 (A chapter from Mahammadan kintery. The Hinda Kijils under the Maghai Government.) India never became a thorough Mahammadan country. 'The invaders were few and the country was too large and too populous. The waves of immigration from Turin were few and tar between, and deposited on Indian soil adventures, warriors, and learned men, rather than artisans and colonists. Hence the Mahammadam deponded upon the Hindoos for labour of every kind, from architecture down to agriculture and the supply of servants. Many branches they had to learn from the Hindoos, us, for example, the cultivation of indigenous produce, irrigation, colonge, medicine, the building of houses, and weaving of suffix suitable for the climate, the management of elephants, and so forth.' In course of time, as Bernier and many others record, the rulers had to depend on the Hindoos for recruiting their army.

against him, 'The man is covered with infamy,' she said, 'and he shall not enter within these walls. I disown him for my husband, and these eyes can never again behold him. No son-in-law of Rana can possess a soul so abject. He who is allied to his illustrious house must imitate the virtues of that great man: if he cannot vanquish he should die.' The next moment the temper of her mind took another turn. 'Prepare the funeral pile,' she exclaimed. 'The fire shall consume my body. I am deceived; my husband is certainly dead; it cannot possibly be otherwise: ' and then again, transported with rage, she broke into the bitterest reproaches. In this humour she continued eight or nine days, refusing the whole of that time to see her husband. The arrival of her mother was attended, however, with a beneficial effect: she, in some measure, appeased and comforted her daughter, by solemnly promising, in the Raja's name, that as soon as he should be somewhat recovered from his fatigue, he would collect a second army, attack Aureng-Zebe, and fully retrieve his reputation.

This anecdote may serve as a specimen of the spirit which animates the women of this country. I might mention several instances of the same kind, having seen many wives burn themselves after the death of their husbands: but these are details which I reserve for another place; where I shall, at the same time, show the ascendency which prejudice, ancient habit, hope, the force of public opinion, and the principle of honour, have over the human mind.\footnote{1}

When Dara was made acquainted with the calamitous events that had occurred at Eugenes, the violence of his rage would have hurried him into a course of the most extravagant conduct, if he had not been restrained by the arguments and moderation of Chah-Jchan. That Kasem-Kan, had he been within his reach, would have paid the forfeit of his head, can scarcely be doubted; and Emir

¹ See pp. 306 et seg.

Jemia being regarded as the primary and principal cause of the present crisis (since it was he who supplied Aureng-Zebe with troops and money), Dura would have killed his son Mahmet Emir-Kan and compelled his wife and daughter to become prostitutes, had he not at length yielded to the suggestions of the King, who showed the extreme improbability of the Emir's concurrence in the measures of Aureng-Zebe. His judgment was too sound, he observed, to allow of his placing his family in jeopardy, for the sake of advancing the interests of a man for whom he could feel no warmth of friendship. On the contrary, it was sufficiently obvious that he had been himself deceived, and had fallen into the wiles of Aureng-Zebe.

The invaders, in the mean time, were flushed with success, impressed with an idea of their invincibility, and persuaded that there was no object, however difficult and stupendous, which they might not achieve. Still more to Increase the confidence of his troops, Aureng-Zebe vaunted aloud that in Darg's army there were thirty thousand Mogali devoted to his service; and that this was not entirely an empty boast will soon be made apparent, Monad-Bakche felt impatient of delay, and expressed his eagerness to push forward; but his brother repressed this ardour, representing the necessity of some repose on the banks of the beautiful river! [Nerbudda], especially as it would afford an opportunity for corresponding with his friends, and ascertaining the situation of affairs. The advance on Agra was therefore slow and circumspect. exactly regulated by the information daily received.

Chah-Jehan was now reduced to a state of hopelessness and misery. He saw that his sons were not to be turned

¹ The Nerbudda (Narbadá) ranks second to the Ganges among the rivers of India in religious saustity. In fact 'tis said that in the Samvat year 1951 (1895 A.D.) the sauctity of the Ganges will cease, while the putifying virtue of the Nerbudda will continue the same throughout all the ages of the world. This river, which well deserves the aplified of 'beautiful' applied to it by Bernier, then formed the boundary between Hindostan proper and the Decean.

aside from their determination to enter the capital, and viewed with dismay the mighty preparation made by Dara for a decisive battle. He had a prescience of the terrible evils impending over his house, which he endeavoured by every expedient to avert. He was not in a situation, however, to resist the wishes of Dara, for he still continued to labour under the influence of disease, and was the servant rather than the sovereign of his eldest son. that son he had long been compelled to resign all authority, and the military commanders, as well as the officers of the State, were instructed to yield implicit obedience to the orders of Dura. It is not surprising, therefore, that this Prince was enabled to assemble a numerous army, finer than perhaps had ever trod the plains of Hindoustan. The lowest calculation makes it amount to one hundred thousand horse, more than twenty thousand foot, and eighty pieces of cannon; besides an incredible number of eamp-followers, and those bugar dealers, so necessary for the support of an army in peace as well as in war, and who, I suspect, are often included by historians in the number of combatants, when they speak of immense armies of three or four bundred thousand men. Unquestionable it is, that the force under Dora's command was sufficient, in point of physical strength, to overwhelm two or three such armes as Aureng-Zehe's, whose utmost number could not exceed forty thousand men of all arms, and these harassed and nearly worn out by long marches under a vertical sun. Yet, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, no one seemed to presage success to Dara; the only troops on whose fidelity he could depend being with the army under Soliman-Chekonh, and the principal Omrahs having manifested symptoms of disaffection to his interests. His friends, therefore, earnestly recommended him not to hazard an engagement. Chah-Jehan was most urgent on this point, offering, infirm as he

¹ The traders in the 'Regimental Barnar' of a modern Indian cantonment or camp, so familiar to all Anglo-Indians.

was, to assume the chief command, and to face Aureng-Zela's army. This scheme was admirably adapted to preserve peace, and to arrest the progress of that haughty prince: neither he nor Morad-Bakeke would probably have felt disposed to fight against their father: or, if they had ventured upon such a step, their ruin must have been the consequence; for Chah-Jehan was popular among all the Omrahs, and the whole army, including the troops under the two brothers, was enthusiastically attached to his person.



Fro, a -The Emperor Shills Jalein.

Failing in their attempt to prevent an appeal to the sword, Dava's friends exhausted every argument to dissuade him, at least, from acting with precipitancy, and to induce him to delay the battle until the arrival of Soliman-Chelouh, who was hastening to his assistance. This also was sound advice, the young Prince being generally beloved, and returning at the head of a victorious army, composed of soldiers, as I have before observed, attached

to Dara. But he rejected this, as he had done the former proposition, and remained inflexible in his resolution to anticipate Aureng-Zebe and bring him immediately to action.

If indeed Dara could have commanded fortune, and controlled events, his own reputation and peculiar interest might have been promoted by such a procedure. These were the considerations that actuated him, and which he could not altogether conecal:-be was master of the King's person; in possession of his treasure, and enjoying undivided authority over the royal armies. Sultan Sujoh was already half ruined; his other brothers were come. with a weak and worn-out army, voluntarily, as it were, to throw themselves into his hands. Once defeated, they would have no way of escape; he would then become absolute lord, attain the end of his labours, and ascend the throne without competition or difficulty. If he intrusted the management of the campaign to his father, an amicable accommodation would take place; his brothers would return quietly to their respective provinces; Chali-Jehan, whose health was evidently improving, would resume the reins of government, and affairs revert to their former state. If, again, he awaited the arrival of his son Soliman-Chekouh, the King might employ the interval in forming some design to his disadvantage, or enter into negotiation with Aureng-Zebe injurious to his interests: and, admitting that after the junction of his son's army, a battle were fought and gained, the part which he might have had in the success of the day would be denied him, and the honour of the achievement rest with Soliman-Chekouh, whose military reputation was already known and established. Then, who could tell the effect which the general appliance might produce on his youthful and ardent mind, countenanced as he would be by his grandfather and many of the chief Omrahs? There was no saying how boundless his ambition might become, or how little it might be restrained by the affection and respect he owed to his father.

Such were the reasons which induced Dara to turn a deaf car to the voice of prudence and friendship. He ordered the whole army to take the field, and presented himself before Chah Jehan, then in the fortress of Agra, for the purpose of bidding him farewell. As his father embraced him, the unhappy old man shed tears; but addressing him in a grave and serious tone, he said, Well, my son, since you will have it your own way, may heaven bless your undertaking! but remember this-my injunction-if the battle be lost have a care how you come again into my presence!' Little impressed with these words, Darn took a hasty leave of the King, and murched his army to the river Tchembel, about twenty leagues from Agre, where having fortified himself he waited with confidence the arrival of the enemy. But the quick-sighted and wily Fakire, who was everywhere provided with spies, fully aware of the difficulty of passing the river when thus defended, came indeed, and encamped sufficiently near to have his tents descried by Dara, but was at the same time intriguing with a Raja of the name of Chempet,2 whom he gained over by presents and promises, and through whose territory he obtained permission to march his army for the purpose of reaching speedily that part of the river where it is fordable. Chempet even undertook to be his guide through forests and over mountains which perhaps were considered impracticable by Dara; and Aureng-Zebe, leaving his tents standing to deceive his brother, had crossed with his troops to the other side of the river almost as soon as the enemy was apprised of his departure. In this emergency, Dara was compelled to abandon his fortifications, and pursue Aureng-Zebe, who advanced by rapid strides towards the river Gemna, on the banks of which he had time to intrench himself, refresh his men, and in his turn, await composedly the approach of the

³ Chumbul, a river which rises near the military station of Mhow, one of the principal tributaries of the Junua.

² Champat Rai, a chief of the Bundelas.

³ That is, the Chumbul.

enemy. The position chosen by him was five leagues distant from Agra, the name of the place which was formerly called Samonguer, is now Fateabad, that is to say the Place of Victory. Dara soon came up, and encamped also near the banks of the same river, between Agra and the army of Aureng-Zebe.

The two armies remained in sight of each other three or four days without coming to an engagement. During this interval, Chah-Jehan sent letter upon letter to Dara, apprising him of Soliman-Chekouh's near approach, and entreating him to do nothing rashly or prematurely; but to draw closer to Agro, and select advantageous ground whereon to intrench his army until the arrival of his son. The only answer returned by Dara to these letters was, that three days should not clapse ere he brought Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, bound hands and feet, to his father, who might pass such judgment upon his rebellious sons as to him should seem meet. This answer despatched, he prepared for battle.

He placed the whole of his cannon in front, linked together by chains of iron, in order that no space might be left for the entrance of the enemy's cavalry. Immediately in the rear of the cannon, he ranged a line of light camels, on the forepart of whose bodies small pieces of ordnance, somewhat resembling swivels in our vessels, were fixed: these the rider could charge and discharge at pleasure, without being obliged to dismount. Behind these camels was posted the most considerable part of the musketeers. The rest of the army consisted principally of cavalry, armed either with sabres, and those kind of half-pikes used by the Ragipous; or with sabres and howsand-arrows; which latter weapon is generally used by the

² Samugarh, ² The Jumpa.

³ Camel swivel-guns, known by the name of Embalmay, or 'Little Wasp,' also called Shakin, the name for the 'Royal Falcon.' Compare the falcon-beaked hummers of the 16th century and the old falcon and falconet pieces.

Mogols, that is (according to the present acceptation of the term Mogol) foreigners whose complexions are white, and who profess Mahometanism; such as Persians, Turks, Analys, and Usbeks.

The army was formed into three divisions. The command of the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Mogals, was given to Calil-ullak-Kan, and the left wing was intrusted to Rustim-Kan Dahny, a brave and famous captain, conjointly with the Rajas Chatresale and Romaringue Rostlé. Calil ullak had been made Bakchis, or grand-muster of the horse, in the stead of Danechmend-Khan (afterwards my Agah) who resigned that situation because he knew that he had incurred Dara's displeasure by his solicitude to uphold the sole and unshackled authority of Chah-Jehan.

Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakehe made a nearly similar disposition of their forces, excepting that among the troops of the Omrahs, stationed on either flank, a few pieces of field artillery were intermixed and concealed; a stratagem invented, it is said, by Emir-Jenda, and attended with some success. I am not aware that in this battle's recourse was had to any other artifice, unless it were that here and there were placed men who threw banner, which are a sort of grenade attached to a stick, and which were thrown, from various parts of the line, among the enemy's eavalry, and which produced the effect of terrifying the horses, and sometimes of killing the men.

It cannot be denied that the cavalry of this country manœuvre with much case, and discharge their arrows with astonishing quickness; a horseman shooting six times before a masketeer can fire twice. They also pre-

when talking of Danishmand Khan.

I Rajás Chhattar or Saltar, Sal, and Ram Singh Rautela.

^{*} Superior or Master, always used by Bernier in an affectionate sense

^{*} For Khafi Ekin's account of this battle (in the Munishin allubil), which was fought on the 28th May 1055, see pp. 220-226, vol. vit of Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India, as tall by its own Historians. Edited and continued by Professor John Dowson.

^{*} The Hindostance bin, a rocket.

serve excellent order, and keep in a compact body, especially when charging the enemy. But, after all, I do not think very highly of their proficiency in the art of war as compared with our well-equipped armies, for reasons which I shall mention in another part of this work.

The preparations I have described being completed. the artillery of both armies opened their fire, the invariable mode of commencing an engagement; and the arrows were already thick in the air, when suddenly there fell a shower of rain so violent as to interrupt the work of slaughter for a while. The weather had no sooner cleared than the sound of cannon was again heard, and Dara was at this time seen seated on a beautiful elephant of Ccylon, issuing his orders for a general onset; and, placing himself at the head of a numerous body of horse, advanced boldly toward the enemy's cannon. He was received with firmness, and soon surrounded by heaps of slain, And not only the body which he led to the attack, but those by which he was followed, were thrown into disorder. Still did be retain an admirable calmness, and evince his immoveable determination not to recede. He was observed on his elephant looking about him with an undaunted air, and marking the progress of the action. The troops were animated by his example, and the fugitives resumed their ranks; the charge was repeated, but he could not come up to the cuemy before another volley carried death and dismay among the assailants; many took to flight; but the greater part seemed to have imbibed Dara's spirit, and followed their intrepid commander, until the camon were forced, the iron chains disengaged, the enemy's camp entered, and the camela and infantry put completely to the rout. It was now that the eavalry of both armies coming in contact, the buttle raged with the greatest fierceness. Showers of arrows obscured the air, Dara himself emptying his quiver: these weapons, however, produce but little effect, nine out of ten flying over the soldiers' heads, or falling short. The

arrows discharged, the sword was drawn, and the contending squadrons fought hand to hand, both sides appearing to increase in obstinacy in proportion as the sword performed its murderous work. During the whole of this tremendous conflict, Dara afforded undeniable proofs of invincible courage, raising the voice of encouragement and command, and performing such feats of valour that he succeeded at length in overthrowing the

enemy's cavalry, and compelling it to fly.

Aureng-Zebe, who was at no great distance, and mounted also on an elephant, endeavoured, but without success, to retrieve the disasters of the day. He attempted to make head against Dara with a strong body of his choicest cavalry; but it was likewise driven from the field in great confusion. Here I cannot avoid commending his bravery and resolution. He saw that nearly the whole of the army under his immediate command was defeated and put to flight; the number which remained unbroken and collected about his person not exceeding one thousand-I have been told it scarcely amounted to five hundred, -he found that Dors, notwithstanding the extreme enguedness of the ground which separated them, evidently intended to rush upon his remaining little band; yet did he not betray the slightest symptom of fear, or even an inclination to retreat; but calling many of his principal officers by name, called aloud to them, Delirane!1 (Courage, my old friends)-I am repeating his exact words-Kodahi? (there is a God). What hope can we find in flight? Know ye not where is our Decan? Koda-hé! Koda-hé! Aud then, to remove all doubt of his resolution, and to show that he thought of nothing less than a retreat, he commanded (a strange extremity surely!) that chains should

Dit i yardındı.

² Khudd kai, but the short, clipped utterance of one accustomed to the Deceaner accent is here reproduced exactly. A pleasant place of evidence of the correctness and ease with which Bernier wrote. His whole surrative is full of similar instances. See p. 76.

be fastened round the feet of his elephant; a command he would undoubtedly have seen obeyed, if all those who were about him had not given the strongest assurances of their unsubdued spirit and unshaken fidelity.

Dara all this time meditated an advance upon Aureng-Zebe, but was retarded by the difficulty of the ground and by the enemy's cavalry, which, though in disorder, still covered the hills and plains that intervened between the two commanders. Certainly he ought to have felt that without the destruction or capture of his brother, victory would be incomplete; nor should he have suffered any consideration to move him from his purpose of attacking Aureng-Zebe, now that he was so clearly incapable of offering effectual resistance. He had an easy opportunity to crush this formidable rival; but the circumstance I am about to relate distracted his attention, and saved Aureng-Zebe from the impending danger.

Darn perceived at this critical moment that his left wing was in disorder; and some one then brought him intelligence of the deaths of Rustum-Kan and Chatresale, and of the imminent peril into which Romseingue Routle was placed in consequence of having valiantly burst through the enemy, by whom he was, however, entirely surrounded. Dara then abandoned the idea of pushing toward Aureng-Zebe, and determined to fly to the succour of the left wing. After a great deal of hard fighting, Dam's presence turned the tide of fortune, and the enemy was driven back at all points; but the rout was not so complete as to leave him without occupation. while Ramseingue Routle was opposed to Morad-Bakehe, and performing prodigies of valour. The Raja wounded the Prince, and approached so near as to cut some of his elephant's girths, hoping in that way to bring his antagonist to the earth; but the intrepidity and advoitness of Morad-Bakehe did not permit lum to accomplish his object. Though wounded and beset on all sides by the Ragipous, the Prince disdained to yield: he dealt his blows with

terrible effect, throwing at the same time his shield over his son, a lad of seven or eight years of age, scated at his side; and discharged an arrow with so merring an aim that the Ramseingue Routlé fell dead on the spot.¹

It was not long before Dara was made acquainted with the serious loss he had sustained; and hearing also that Morad-Hakche was heamed in by the Ragipous, rendered furious by the death of their master, he determined, not-withstanding every obstacle, to advance to the attack of that Prince; the only measure by which he could hope to repair the error committed in suffering Aureng-Zebe to escape: but even this step was rendered abortive by an act of treachery, which involved Dara in immediate and irretrievable ruin.

Calil-ullah-Kan, who commanded the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Mogols, a force which alone was sufficient to destroy Aureng-Zebe's army, kept aloof from the engagement, while Dara, at the head of the left wing, fought with courage and success. The traitor pretended that his division was designed for a corps of reserve, and

¹ Khili Khin in his account of the battle tells us that 'At this moment Rajā Ram Singh, a man highly renowned among the Rajpits for his heavery, wound a string of costly peads round his head, and with his men clothed in yellow, as bent upon some desperate action, charged upon the elephant of Murád Bakhsh, and cried out defantly, 'What, do you contest the throne with Dara Shukoh?" hurled his javelin against Murád Bakhsh. Then he cried out fiercely to the elephant-driver, "Make the elephant knoel down!" Murád Bakhsh, having warded off his assault, shot him in the forehead with an arrow and killed him. The Rajpüts who followed that daving fellow mostly fell dead around the feet of the Prince's elephant, and made the ground as yellow as a field of safiron."

It was their practice to amoint their faces and hands with a preparation of turmeric, to show that they were come forth prepared to die. Occasionally they dressed in orange-coloured garments, emblematic of

the followers of Mahadeo.

Prior to the onslaught of Raja Ram Singh, it is recorded by Khaili Khain that Murid Bakhuh, seeing that his elephant, on account of its being covered with arrow, spear, and battic-axe wounds, was likely to turn away, ordered a chain to be cast round its legs. that he could not, consistently with his orders, move one step, or discharge a single arrow, until the last extremity: but the blackest perfidy was the cause of his inaction.

Some years prior to this period, Calibullah had suffered the indignity of having been shoebcaten 1 at the hands of Dam, and he considered the hour arrived when he might gratify the resentment which had never-ceased to rankle in his bosom. His abstinence from all share in the battle did not, however, produce the mischief intended. Dam having proved victorious without the co-operation of the right wing. The traitor, therefore, had recourse to another expedient. He quitted his division, followed by a few persons, and riding with speed towards Dara precisely at the moment when that Prince was hastening to assist in the downfall of Morad-Bakche, he exclaimed, while yet at some distance, 'Mokbarek-bad, Hazaret, Salamet, Elhamd-ulellah: May you be happy! May your Majesty enjoy health and reign in safety! Praise be to Allah, the victory is your own! But, my God! why are you still mounted on this lofty elephant? Have you not been sufficiently exposed to danger? If one of the numberless arrows, or balls, which have pierced your handa? had

Tavernier (Travels, vol. i. p. 143) states that Shih Jahan, when Prince Kurum, during the siege of Daulatabád, being offended at something that Azam Khán, one of the generals, had said, 'became so enraged that, sending at once for one of his fastestes or alippers, which they leave at the door, had him given five or six strokes with it on the head a this in Ixaas is the highest affront, after which it is impossible for a man to show himself.'

In the original, dair, which exactly describes the 'pad,' with a canopy, the war harness of the Mogul's elephants. Howdah (bowda, more correctly) from the Arabic, bandaj, a cained litter, ought strictly speaking to be applied to the well-known framed seat used for State purposes, aporting, etc. (See acts on next page.) For much curious information in this connection, consult the work by Christopher Petri, of Hartenfels, emitted, Elephantegraphia emissa, sea elephanti descriptio. ... multique selectir observationibus physicis, medicit et jucundis historiis referia, cum figuris ancis. ... Erfordia. ... 1715, 1 vol. quarto, which is rather a scarce book.

touched your person, who can imagine the dreadful situation to which we should be reduced? In God's name descend quickly and mount your horse; nothing now remains but to pursue the fugitives with vigour. I entreat

your Majesty permit them not to escape."

Had Dara considered the consequences of quitting the back of his elephant on which he had displayed so much valour, and served as a rallying-point to the army, he would have become muster of the Empire; but the credulous Prince, duped by the artful obsequiousness of Calil-ulluh, listened to his advice as though it had been sincere. He descended from the elephant, and mounted his horse; but a quarter of an hour had not clapsed when, suspecting the imposture, he inquired impatiently for Calil-ullah-Kan. The villain was not, however, within his reach: he invelghed vehemently against that officer, and threatened him with death; but Dara's rage was now impotent, and his menace incapable of being executed. The troops having missed their Prince, a rumour quickly spread that he was killed, and the army betrayed; an universal panic seized them; every man thought only of his own safety, and how to escape from the resentment of Aureng-Zebe. In a lew minutes the army seemed disbanded, and (strange and sudden reverse!) the conqueror became the vanquished. Aureny-Zebe remained during a quarter of an hour steadily on his elephant, and was rewarded with the crown of Hindousian: Dara left his own elephant a few minutes too soon, and was hurled from the pinnsele of glory, to be numbered among the most miserable of Princes: -so shortsighted is man, and so mighty are the consequences which sometimes flow from the most trivial incident.

³ Kháfi Khán states that after the death of Rustam Khán and Rája Sattar Sal, Dárá became discouraged and knew not what to do, 'Jun at this time a rocket struck the houses of his elephant. This alarmed and discouraged him so much that he dismounted in haate without even waiting to put on his slippers, and he then without arms mounted a horse-The sight of this III-timed alarm, and of the empty houses, after he had changed his elephant for a horse, disheartened the soldiers. The

These immense armies frequently perform great feats; but when thrown into confusion it is impossible to restore them to discipline. They resemble an impetuous river which has burst its banks; and whose waters, unrestrained in their course, disperse over the surrounding country, while no means can be devised to arrest them in their career of desolation. I could never see these soldiers. destitute of order, and marching with the irregularity of a herd of animals, without reflecting upon the ease with which five-and-twenty thousand of our veterans from the army in Flanders, commanded by Prince Conde or Marshal Turenne.2 would overcome these armies, however numerous. I am no longer incredulous, or even astonished, when I read of the exploits of the ten thousand Greeks, or of the achievements of the fifty thousand Macedonians under Alexander, though opposed to six or seven hundred thousand men; if, indeed, it be true that the armles of Darius amounted to so many, and that the servants, and various other persons employed to procure provisions, were not comprehended in this number. By receiving the onset with their usual steadiness, the French troops would throw any Indian army into consternation; or they might, as Alexander did, direct their chief effort to a particular part of the line; and the success attending such a movement would fill the enemy with terror, and occasion an immediate and general dispersion.

Aureng-Zebe determined to derive every possible benefit from this unexpected and almost miraculous victory; and,

men loss heart in sympathy with their leader, and began to think of flight. Just at this time, as one of his attendants was girding him with a quiver, a cannon-ball carried off the man's right hand and he fell dead. The sight of this struck terror into the hearts of those around him; some of them dispersed, and others fled from the fatal field. Dard, beholding the dispersion of his followers, and the repulse of his army, prizing his more than the hope of a crown, turned away and fled."

Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, usually known as 'Condé the Great,' born 1621, died in 1681.

² Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, one of the great soldiers of France, was born in 1611, and died in 1675.

to ensure the attainment of the sole object of his desire, absolute dominion, resorted to every kind of unprincipled base intrigue. The pertidious Calif-ullah-Kan soon appeared in his presence, proffering his submission, and the services of whatever portion of the troops he might seduce from their first allegiance. The Prince thanked him, and loaded him with promises, but was cantious not to receive him in his own name. He carried him at once to Morad-Bakche, by whom the traitor was bailed, as may easily be imagined, with every profession of kindness. During this interview Aureng-Zebe addressed his brother as his acknowledged King and Sovereign, observing to Calif ullah-Kan that it was Morad-Bakche alone who was qualified to wear the crown, and that the victory was gained only by the skilful conduct and irresistible valour of that Prince,1

Notwithstanding this semblance of fealty to his younger brother, Aureng-Zebe was actively employed day and night in writing to the Omruha, whom he brought over gradually to his party. Chah-hest-kan,2 his uncle, was unwearied in promoting the views of his nephew, and was indeed an invaluable coadjutor, being active, intelligent, and possessed of extensive influence. He had the reputation of writing the most insinuating letter, and using the most persuasive eloquence, of any man in Hindowstan. It is known that owing to some real or imaginary affront he greatly disliked Dara, and therefore embraced this opportunity of contributing to his downfall. Aureng-Zehe concealed under the garb of disinterestedness and purity of intention his raging passion for sovereignty. Everything that was done, the negotiations entered into, and the pro-

Shaista Khin (see p. 13) was a son of the wazir Asaf Khin, and

brother of Shah Jubin's wife, Mumtis Mahal.

It is stated by Khail Khan that the howdah which Murad Baksh used during the battle was stuck as thick with arrows as a porcupine with quille, so that the ground of it was not visible. Also that it was kept in the store-house in the fort of the capital (Delhi) as a curiosity, and as a memorial of the bravery of that descendant of the house of Timur, remaining there till about 1711.

mises made, all was in Morad-Bakche's name: from him every command was to emanate, and he was to be regarded as the fature King. Aureng-Zebe acted only as his lieutenant, as his zealous and dutiful subject; the turmoils of government were ill suited to the disposition of his mind; to live and die as a Fakire was his firm and inflexible resolution!

As for Dara, he was weighed down with dispondency and terror. He repaired with all diligence to Agra, but did not venture into his father's presence; for his last stern injunction,1 · Remember, Dava, if thou art defeated, never return to me, still sounded in his car. The good old man nevertheless sent a faithful cumuch in secret to condole with the unhappy Prince, to assure him of his unalterable affection, and of the grief into which he was plunged by the late disaster. 'But,' added the King, there is surely no reason for despair while an army under Soliman Chekouh remains. For the present, I advise you to take the road to Dehli, where you will find a thousand horses in the royal stables; and the governor of the fort has my orders to furnish you with money and elephants. You should not withdraw to a greater distance than prudence may demand; I shall write frequently, and wish you to be within easy reach of my letters, I still think I possess the means of bringing Aureng-Zebe into my power, and of inflicting due chastisement upon him,' So utterly cast down, so absorbed in sorrow was Dara, that he could frame no answer to this affecting communication, or even transmit a formal acknowledgment of it to his father. He sent several messages to Hegian-Sakeb, and departed at midnight, with his wife, daughters, and his youngest son Sepé-Chekouh," accompanied, and this is almost incredible, by not more than three or four hundred persons. Let

¹ See p. 46,

Dárá Shikoh was married, when in his twentieth year, to the Princess Nádira, the daughter of his uncle, Sultán Parwes, by whom he had two soms, Sultamán Shikoh and Sipihr Shikoh, who shared the ill-fortunes of their father, both dying in prison in the fort of Gwallor.

him pursue his melancholy way to Dehli, while we consider the deep policy and consummate address which marked the conduct of Aureng-Zebe at Agra.

One of his first measures was to gain over, or at least to sow the seeds of disunion, among the victorious troops commanded by Soliman-Chekouh, and thus destroy Dara's last hope of retrieving his fortunes. He, therefore, represented to the Raja Jesseingue and to Delil-kan, the principal officers in that army, the utter ruin of Dara's affairs. The formidable force on which he founded such confident hopes of success, observed Aureng-Zebe, after sustaining a total overthrow, had come over to his standard. Dara was now a fugitive, unattended by a single regiment, and must soon fall into his hands; and, with respect to Chah-Jehan, such was the state of his health, that no expectation could be entertained of his surviving many It was evident that they were engaged in a cause which was now desperate, and that a longer adherence to Dara's fallen fortune would be extremely imprudent. He counselled them to consult their best interests by joining his army, and bringing with them Soliman-Chekanh, whose person they might easily seize.

Jesseingue hesitated for some time as to the line of conduct he should pursue. He still feared Chah-Jehan and Dara, and dreaded the consequence of laying hands on a Royal Personage; a violence not likely to escape punishment, somer or later, though that punishment should be inflicted by Aureng-Zebe himself. He was acquainted, too, with the high and undaunted spirit of Soliman-Chekouh, and could have no doubt that the Prince would die rather than submit to the loss of liberty.

At last this was what he determined upon. After having taken counsel with Delil-kan his great friend, and having renewed oaths of fealty to each other, it was decided between them that Jesseingue should straightway repair to Soliman-Chekouh's tent, show him the overtures made by Aureng-Zebe, and disclose frankly the whole state of his mind. 'I ought not to disguise from you,' he told the Prince, 'the danger of your situation: you can depend neither upon Delithan, or Daoudhan,' nor upon any part of the troops; and, by advancing to the relief of your father, you may involve yourself in irretrievable ruln. In this emergency you cannot do better than seek refuge in the mountains of Serenaguer." The Raja of that country will receive you kindly; his territory is inaccessible, and he can be in no dread of Aureng-Zebc. While in this secure retreat, you may calmly observe the progress of events, and descend from your mountains when a favourable occasion shall arise."

The young Prince could not fail to understand from this discourse that he had lost all authority both with the Raja and the troops; and that he should endanger the safety of his own person if he refused to relinquish the command: he yielded, therefore, to the sad necessity of the case, and proceeded toward the mountains. He was attended by a few affectionate friends, chiefly Manachdars and Saieds, and others who considered themselves

Probably Dand Khan, Kureshi, who became commander of 5000 in the reign of Alamgir. In the year 1670 he was appointed governor of Allahahad.

Provinces, a wild mountain country along the valley of the North-West Provinces, a wild mountain country along the valley of the Alaknanda River. Schnagar, the name of the priocipal village in the district, was in Bernier's time the capital of the Garhwál Rájús; it is now to a great extent deserted. Many writers and commentators have confounded this place with the Schnagar in Kaahmir. The position of this (Garhwál) Schnagar, is shown with considerable accuracy, titled Garanghies, on the map of the Moyal Empires in the first edition, Paria, 1670, of The History of the lats Rebellion, etc., and titled Screengher mander, on the map in the early Dutch edition, Amsterdam, 1672 (see the reproductions at pp. 238 and 454), and also in other editions.

Salaiman Shikoh was afterwards given up by the Raja (called the Zamindar of Srinagar in the 'Amal-1 Sciik of Mohamund Salih Kambu) in 1670 to the officers of Aurangreb. See p. 105.

^{*} Mansabdary, commanders, officers, from minuse, Pers. 'a com-

bound to follow him. The balk of the army remained with the Raja and Delil-Kan, who had the baseness to send a body of men to plunder the Prince's baggage. Among other booty, they seized an elephant laden with Ranpies of gold. Many of Soliman-Chekouk's attendants, discouraged by this disgraceful outrage, deserted him, and the peasantry, after spoiling them, even assassinated many of the Prince's followers. He made his way, however, to the mountains with his wife and family, and was received with the honours due to his rank; the Raja of Screnaguer assuring him he should be in perfect security while in his territory, and that he would assist him with all his forces. We must now resume the thread of our narrative, as it relates to what took place at Agra.

Three or four days after the battle of Samonguer,²
Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche presented themselves before the gate of the city, in a garden, about a league distant
from the fortress. They then despatched a message to
Chah-Jehan, by an enunch in the confidence of AurengZebe, and possessing all his address and deceit. This man
saluted the aged Monarch in the name of his master, assured him of his undiminished respect and affection, and
expressed his deep sorrow for the events which had recently taken place, events attributable to the inordinate
ambition and sinister designs of Dara. He begged leave
most sincerely to congratulate his august parent on the
improvement which was manifesting itself in the state of
his health, and declared that he was come to Agra only
to receive and execute his commands.

Chah-Jehan affected to approve of his son's conduct, and expressed himself satisfied with these expressions of allegiance. He was, however, too well acquainted with his hypocrisy and love of power, to place any confidence

² Gold moburs in fact, called 'Gold Rouples,' by many of the old travellers.

^{*} Srinagar in Garhwall See p. 92.

Samugarh, nine miles east of Agra. See p. 47-

in his protestations; yet, instead of acting with decision, showing himself to his people, and assembling his Omrahs, for which there was still time, he chose rather to try his own skill in artifice and dissimulation with Aureng-Zebe, who surpassed all men in both. It is not surprising, therefore, that the father fell into the snare which he had spread for his son. He sent a trusty ennuch to say how sensible he was not only of the improper behaviour of Dara, but also of his incapacity; to remind Aureng-Zebe of the peculiar tenderness he had ever borne hlm, and to request he would visit his affectionate father, that such arrangements might be concluded as the present distracted state of affairs rendered necessary. The cautious Prince likewise mistrusted Chak-Jehan; for he knew that Begum-Saheb quitted hun neither night nor day; that he was completely under her control; that she had dictated the message, and that there were collected in the fortress several large and robust Tartar women, such as are curployed in the seraglio, for the purpose of falling upon him with arms in their hands, as soon as he entered the fortress. Aureng-Zehe would not, therefore, venture within its walls; and though he repeatedly fixed the day for obeying his father's summons, he as often deferred it to the morrow. Meanwhile, he continued his secret machinations, and sounded the opinions of the most powerful Omrahs, until, having well digested his plans, the public all at once found to their astonishment that his son, Sultan Mahmond, had taken possession of the fortress. This enterprising young man, having posted a number of men in the vicinity, entered the place on the ples of visiting the Mogol with a message from Aureng Zehe, and fell suddenly on the guards stationed at the gate; he was quickly followed by his men, who overcame the unsuspecting garrison, and made themselves masters of the fortress.

If ever man was astonished, that man was Chah-Jehan when he perceived that he had fallen into the trap he had prepared for others, that he himself was a prisoner, and Aureng Zebe in possession of the fort. It is said that the unhappy Monarch sent at once a message to Sultan Mahmond, promising, on his crown and the Koran, to nominate him King, provided he served him faithfully in this conjuncture. 'Come to me,' added the Mogol, 'and lose not this opportunity of delivering your grandfather from prison; an act which will obtain for you the blessing of heaven, and a glorious name that shall never die."

If Sullan Mahmoud had possessed sufficient daring to close with these proposals, it appears extremely probable that he might have supplanted his father. Chah-Jehan's influence was still powerful, and if he had been permitted to leave the citadel, and to assume the personal command of the troops, I have reason to believe that they would have acknowledged his authority, and the leading Omraha remained faithful to his government. Aureng-Zehe would not himself have been bold or savage enough to fight against his own father in person, especially as he must have thought that he would have been abandoned by every one, possibly by Morad-Bakehe himself.

It is the general opinion that Sultan Mahmoud committed the same error upon this occasion as his grandfather had done after the battle of Samonguer and flight of Dara. And, as I am again led to the subject, it is fair I should observe that there are several politicians who contend that, considering all the circumstances of his situation, the aged Monarch, after the battle and the defeat of Dam, adopted the most prudent course in remaining within the fortress, and endeavouring to overcome Aureng-Zehe by stratagem. It is the vulgar practice, these people say, to judge of the wisdom of every plan according to the event by which it is followed: the worst-digested schemes are frequently attended with success, and then they are applauded by all the world; and if, as there was reason to expect, the appearance of affection and goodwill toward Aureng-Zebe, assumed by Chah-Jehan, had enabled him to seize the person of that

Prince, he would be extolled for sagneity and wisdom, as much as he is now contemped for being, as is injuriously said, a mere driveller, guided by his Begum,1 a woman whose passions blinded her understanding, and whose vanity led her to believe that Aureng-Zebe would hasten to visit her; in other words, that the bird would, of his own accord, fly into the cage. But to return to Sulian Mahmond.-It is inconceivable, according to the politicians of this country, that he did not eagerly grasp at a sceptre which seemed to fall into his hands; especially when, by thus gratifying his ambition, he would have gained a reputation for tenderness and generosity. By restoring his grandfather to freedom this young Prince might have become the sovereign arbiter of affairs; whereas he is now probably destined to terminate his existence in Gongleon

Few will believe that Sultan Mahmoud was restrained by a sense of duty to his father from acceding to the wishes of Chah-Johan: it is more likely that he doubted the sincerity of the King's promises, and felt all the danger of disputing the crown with a man endued with the mental energy and imposing talents of Aureng-Zebe. Whatever were his motives, he disregarded the offers of the unhappy prisoner, and even refused to enter his apartments, alleging that he was not authorised to visit him, but had received positive orders not to return to his father without carrying away with him the keys of every gate in the fort, in order that Aureng-Zebe might come in perfect security for the purpose of kissing his Majesty's feet. For the space of nearly two days, Chah-Johan could not persuade himself to surrender the keys; but observing that his people were gradually descriing him, especially the soldiers stationed at the little gate, and that he was no longer safe, he delivered the keys at length into the hands of Sultan Mahmond, with an injunction to Aureng-Zebe to come to him without further delay, if he were wise,

¹ That is, his daughter, Begum Sahib.

¹ Sec p. 83.

as he had secrets of the greatest moment to disclose. As may be well supposed Aureng-Zebe was too wary a man, and knew too much to commit such a glaring blunder, and so far from obeying the injunction, he immediately appointed his ennuch Elbarkan governor of the fortress, by whose orders Chah-Jehan, with Begum-Saheb and the whole of the women, were closely confined. Many of the gates were also walled up, and all intercourse between the Mogol and his friends was effectually prevented. He was not even permitted to leave his apartment without

the knowledge of the Governor.

At this period Aureng-Zebe wrote a letter to his father which, before he sealed it, was shown to everybody. cannot better explain my conduct, observed the Prince, than by stating that while you professed extraordinary partiality for me, and expressed your displeasure at Dura's proceedings, I was informed, on indisputable authority, that you had sent him two elephants laden with golden roupies. Thus is he furnished with means to collect new armies, and to prolong this disastrous war; I, therefore, put it to you plainly whether I am not driven by his pertinacity to resort to measures which appear harsh and unnatural? Is he not, properly speaking, the cause of your imprisonment? and is it not owing to him that I have so long been deprived of the pleasure of throwing myself at your feet, and discharging the duties, and paying the attentions, you have a right to demand from an affectionate son? It only remains for me to beg that you will pardon what now seems strange in my conduct, and to recommend the exercise of patience under the temporary loss of liberty; for be assured that, as soon as Dara shall be rendered incapable of disturbing our repose, I shall fly to the citadel, and with my own hands open the doors of your prison,"

I have been told that Chah-Jehan did, in fact, send the elephants, with the roupies of gold, to Dara, on the very

¹ See p. 60 text, and footnote 1.

night of his departure from *Dehli*, and that it was *Rauchenara-Begum* who communicated the information to *Aureng-Zebe*. That Princess also apprised him of the presence of the *Tartur* women, by whom it was intended he should be assailed when he entered the eastle. It is even said that *Aureng-Zebe* intercepted some letters written by his father to *Dara*.

Many intelligent persons, however, deny the truth of these allegations, and contend that the letter, thus generally exhibited, was a mere invention to deceive the public, and to reconcile them to the outrageous measures of which the Magol's adherents had so much right to complain. Be the truth what it may, it is certain that the close confinement of Chah-Jehan seemed the signal for nearly the whole body of Omraks to pay their court to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche. 1 can indeed scarcely repress my indignation when I reflect that there was not a single movement, nor even a voice heard, in behalf of the aged and injured Monarch; although the Omrahs, who bowed the knee to his oppressors, were indebted to him for their rank and riches, having been, according to the custom of this court, raised by Chah-Jehan from a state of the lowest indigence, and many of them even redeemed from absolute slavery A few there were, such as Danechmend Kan and some others, who espoused no party; but, with this small exception, every Omrah declared in favour of Aureng-Zebe.

It may, however, diminish our censure of this ungrateful conduct, if we call to mind that the Omrahs of Hindousian cannot be proprietors of land, or enjoy an independent revenue, like the nobility of France and the other states of Christendom. Their income, as I said before, consists exclusively of pensions which the King grants or takes away according to his own will or pleasure. When deprived of this pension, they sink at once into utter insignificance, and find it impossible even to borrow the smallest sum.

The combined Princes, having thus disposed of Chah-Jehan, and received the homage of the Omrahs, set out in pursuit of Darn. The royal treasury supplied their pecuniary wants, and Chah-hest-Kan, the nucle of Aureng-Zebe, was appointed governor of Agra.

When the day arrived for the departure of the army, Morad-Bakche's particular friends, and chief among them the cunuch Chak-Abas, employed every argument to induce him to remain with his own troops in the neighbourhood of Agro and Dekli. An excess of respect, and too smooth a tongue denoted, they said, a treacherous heart. They represented to him that being King, and universally acknowledged as such, even by Aureng-Zebe himself, it was his wisest policy not to remove from the neighbourhood of Agra or Debli, but to let his brother go alone in pursuit of Dara. Had he been swayed by this prudent counsel, Aureng-Zehe would indeed have felt greatly embarrassed; but it made no impression upon his mind, and he continued to repose unreserved confidence in his brother's solemn promises, and in the oaths which they had mutually and repeatedly sworn on the Koraz. The two brothers quitted Agra together, and took the road to Dehli.

When they halted at Maturan four short journeys from Agra, the friends of Morad-Bakche, who had seen and heard enough to excite their suspicion, once more endeavoured to awaken his fears. They assured him that Aureng-Zebe entertained some evil design, and that some dreadful plot was certainly in progress. Of this, information had reached them from various quarters: he must, therefore, absolutely abstain from visiting his brother, at least for that day. Indeed it was advisable, they added, to anticipate, without delay, the meditated blow; for which purpose the Prince need only excuse himself, on the plea of indisposition, from visiting Aureng-Zebe, who would thus be induced to come to Morad-Bakche attended, as usual, with very few persons.

Mathura (Muttra), on the right bank of the Jumna, about 30 miles above Agra-

But neither argument nor entreaty could remove the spell by which he appeared bound. The feigned and fulsome adulation of Aureng-Zebe had indeed enchanted the unhappy Prince; and, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of his friends, he accepted an invitation from his brother for supper. The latter expected him, and had concerted his measures with Mirkan and three or four other of his minions. Morad-Bakche was greeted with even more external courtesy and respect than had been usual since Aureng-Zebe had marked him for his victim; tears of joy seemed to flow, and his brother wined, with a gentle hand, the perspiration and dust from the face of the devoted and credulous Prince. During supper, the utmost goodhumour and conviviality apparently prevailed; the conversation was enlivening and incessant, and at the end of the repast, a large quantity of the delicious wines of Chiraz and Caboul was introduced. Aureng-Zebe then rose softly, and with a countenance that beamed with affection and delight, said, 'I need not inform your Majesty of the serious turn of my mind, and that, as a Mahometan, I feel seruples which do not permit me to indulge in the pleasures of the table; but though I deem it my duty to retire, yet I leave you in excellent company, Mirkan and my other friends will entertain your Majesty.' An extravagant fondness for wine was among Morad-Bakche's foibles, and upon the present occasion, finding it peculiarly good, he drank to such excess that he became intoxicated, and fell into a deep sleep. This was precisely the effect which Aureng-Zebe intended the wine should produce. His servants were ordered to withdraw that their master might not be disturbed; and Mirkan took away both his sword and dagger.1 It was not long before Aureng Zebe

In the original, 'non sabre et son jemder on poignand.' A jumiliar (? from the Sanserit Yama-dôdra='death-bringer') was a short, broad dagger with the 'grip' at right angles to the blade, between side guards for the hand. Some had two points [dil-littidue='two scratches,' from lithing, to write or scratch), others were triple-pointed

came to rouse him from his sleep. He entered the room, and pushing the Prince rudely with his feet, until he opened his eyes, uttered this short and insolent reprimand, 'Oh, shame and infamy! Thou a King and yet possessing so little discretion? What will the world now say of thee, and even of me? Let this wretched and drunken man be bound hand and foot, and removed there within, to sleep away his shame.' The command was no sooner given than executed; five or six soldiers rushed upon Morad-Bakche, and in spite of his cries and resistance, fetters and handcuffs were applied, and he was carried away. This violence could not be perpetrated without the knowledge of his immediate attendants; they wished to sound an alarm, and attempted to break into the apartment; but they were silenced and overawed by Allah-Couly, the chief officer in Morad-Bakche's artillery, who had long been corrupted by the gold of Aureng-Zebe. Some agitation soon began, however, to manifest itself among the troops; and to prevent the consequences of any sudden movement, emissaries were busily employed during

(whilibling a 'three scratcher'). Shaikh Abul Farl, the Emperor Akbar's minister and friend, tells us (Alaci-Akbar') that 'All weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and a proper rank is assigned to them. Thus there are thirty swords, one of which is daily sent to His Majesty's sleeping apartments. The old one is returned, and handed over to the servants outside the Harem, who keep it till its turn comes again. . . Of jaindharrand . . there are forty of each. Their turn recurs every week,' vol. i. p. 109, Professor Blochmann's Translation, Calcutta, 1873. For a great deal of invaluable information regarding Eastern swords and daggers, see An Illintrated Handbook of Indian arms. . . By the Hen. Wilbrakam Egerton, M.A., M.P. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, London. William H. Allen & Co., 1880.

Catron, quoting Manouchi, states that the sabre and dagger were taken away by Aurangaeb's grandson, Aram, on of Prince Muhammad, a boy of six years of age: 'Orangaeb as if he intended his brother only a piece of pleasantry, while sleeping, promised his grandson a lewel if he could take away from the prince his sabre and his poignard without awaking him. The child acquitted himself very dexterously of the office, and conveyed the arms of Moradbax into the adjoining tent.'

the night in representing the occurrences in Aureng-Zebe's tent, as perfectly trifling and unimportant: they were present (they pretended), and Morad-Bakeke having drunk to excess, had lost his self-possession, and made use of very intemperate language. There was no one upon whom he had not cast injurious reflections, and he had even loaded Aureng-Zebe himself with the foulest abuse. In short, he had grown so quarrelsome and ungovernable, that it became necessary to confine him apart; but in

the morning, when recovered from his night's debauch, he would be again set at liberty. In the mean time, large bribes and larger promises were given to all the superior officers; the pay of the whole army was immediately augmented; and, as there were few who had not long foreseen the downfall of Morad-Bakehe, it is not surprising that when the day dawned scarcely a trace of the late partial commotion existed. Aureng-Zebe felt that he might



Fig. 3.- Prince Murdd Pakhala.

venture to shut his brother up in a covered embary, a kind of closed litter in which women are carried on elephants; and in this manner the Prince was conveyed to Dehli, and incarcerated in the ancient citadel of Selim-guer, which is situated in the middle of the river.

¹ For andri, a Persian word meaning a covered in bowdah, or litter,

³ Salim-ghar, built by the Emperor Salim Shah Sor, in the year 1546, and now in ruins.

The army submitted to this new order of things, with the exception of the cunuch Chah-Abas, who occasioned much trouble.1 Aureng Zebe received the troops lately under the command of Morad-Bakehe into his service; and resumed the pursuit of Dara, who was advancing with the utmost expedition on Lahor, with the intention of fortifying himself in that city, and rendering it the rendezvous for his friends and adherents. But he was pressed so closely by his eager enemy, that he found it impossible to fortify that position : he, therefore, continued his retreat on the road to Moultan; but here again the vigour of his brother's movements disappointed any expectation he might have formed of maintaining that post. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the ardour and activity of Aureng-Zebe. Notwithstanding the great heat of the weather, his army marched day and night; and, with a view of encouraging the troops, he was often two or three leagues in advance, nearly unattended. Nor did he fare better than the private men; his meal consisted of dry bread and impure water, and his bed was the bare ground.

Dara is blamed by the statesmen of this country for not having taken the route to the kingdom of Caboul when he abandoned Lahor. He was strongly advised to adopt that course, and his reasons for refusing such sage counsel must always be enigmatical. The governor of Caboul was Mohabet-kan, one of the most ancient and powerful Omrahs of Hindoustan, who had never been on friendly terms with Aureng-Zehe; and there were assembled in that kingdom above ten thousand troops destined to act against the Auguns,2 the Persians, and the Ushers. Dara was amply supplied with money, and there can be little doubt that the military force of that country and Mohabetkan himself would willingly have espoused his cause. It should also be observed that in Caboul, Dara would have

¹ Catron says that he was deported along with Murad Bakhah.

Aighins, called by the old travellers, Auganes, and sometimes Agwants

been on the borders of Persia and Usbee, from which countries he might have derived considerable support. He ought indeed to have recollected how Haumayon was restored to his kingdom by the power of the Persians, notwithstanding the opposition of Zaber-kan, king of the Patans, by whom he had been expelled. But it was generally the fate of the unhappy Dara to undervalue the opinions of the wisest counsellors; and upon this occasion, instead of throwing himself into Caboul, he proceeded towards Soimdy, and sought refuge in the fortress of Talabakar, that strong and celebrated place situated in the middle of the river Indus.

When Aureng-Zebe knew the point on which Dara was directing his retreat, he felt it quite unnecessary to continue the pursuit. Having ascertained that Caboul was not within the plan of his brother's operations, his mind was relieved from any serious apprehension; and sending only seven or eight thousand men under the command of Mir-baba, his foster-brother, to watch the movements of Dura, he retraced his steps towards Agra with the same expedition he had used in the pursuit of his brother. His mind, indeed, was harassed by fears of what might happen in the capital during his absence: some of the powerful Rajas, such as Jesseingue or Jessomseingue, would, perhaps, he thought, release Chah-Jehan from prison; Soliman-Chekouh, and the Raja of Screnaguer, might descend as a torrent from their mountains; or, finally, Sultan Sujah would

¹ Sher Khân Sûr, the son of the governor of Jampur, for some time in the service of Muhammad Lohâni, king of Behar. He defeated the Emperor Humâyûn in 1539 at Chaunsá in Behar, and in 1540 at Kanani, and pursued him until he was driven beyond the Indus. Sher Khân then became the sovereign of Delhi, ascended the throne in 1542, under the title of Sher Shân; and died in 1545. After an exile of fifteen years Humâyân returned to India, and became a second time Emperor of Hindostan.

^{*} Sind (Schole). The fortress is at Bukkur on an island in the Indias between Sukkur and Robri. Owing to its position it was a stronghold of great importance.

now probably venture to approach Agra. A slight incident now occurred, which, as it was occasioned by it, may serve to give an idea of Aureng-Zebe's precipitate

mode of acting.

While on his return from Moultan to Lakor, and when marching with his accustomed rapidity, he was astonished to see the Rajn Jesseingue at the head of four or five thousand well-appointed Ragipous, advancing towards him. Aureng Zebe had, as usual, preceded his army; and being aware of the Raja's strong attachment to Chah-Jehan, it may easily be imagined that he considered his situation one of extreme peril. It was natural for him to conclude that Jesseingue would seize upon so happy an occasion and by a coup d'état at once rescue his venerated sovereign from the iniquitous thraldom under which he groaned, and inflict condigu punishment upon the unfeeling son from whom he had experienced so much unprovoked outrage and crucity. It is, indeed, conjectured that the Raja undertook this expedition with no other design than the capture of Aureng-Zebe, and there appears ground for the opinion from the fact of his having been met on the road leading from Lahar to Moultan, when the information just before received by the Prince left no doubt upon his mind that the Raja was still at Dehli; with such astonishing speed had he conducted this long march! But the self-possession of Aureng-Zebe and his decision of character carried him safely through the impending danger. He betrayed no symptom of agitation or alarm, but assuming a countenance expressive of pleasure at the sight of the Roja, rode directly toward him, making signs with his hand for him to hasten his pace, and calling out, 'Salamet buched Rajn-gi! Salamet backed Baba-gi !' Thus bailing him as 'My Lord Raja! My Lord Father!' When the Raja approached, he said: I cannot describe how impatiently I have waited The war is at an end: Dara is ruined to see you. and wanders alone. I have sent Mir-Babu after the fugitive; he cannot possibly escape. He then took of his pearl necklace, and, as an act of the utmost courtesy and condescension, placed it round the neck of the Roja. 'My army is fatigued, I am anxious you should immediately proceed to Lahor, for I am apprehensive of some movement there. I appoint you Governor of the city, and commit all things to your hands. I shall soon join you; but before we part, I cannot avoid returning my thanks for your manner of disposing of Soliman-Chekouh. Where have you left Delil-kan? I shall know how to punish him. Hasten to Lahor. Salamet Bachest, Farewell!'

Dara, when arrived at Tata-bakar, nominated an ennuch distinguished for his intelligence and resolution, Governor of the fortress, and formed an excellent garrison of Patans, and Sayeds, and as gunners, a number of Portuguese, English, French, and Germans. These Europeans were employed in the artillery, and had been induced by his magnificent promises to enter into the Prince's service. In the event of his ascending the throne, it was intended to promote them to the rank of Omrahs, even although they were Franks. Depositing his treasure in the fortress, for he still possessed a large quantity of gold and silver, Dara pursued his march without delay along the banks of the Indus towards Sciency, at the head of but two or three thousand men; and traversing with incredible speed the territories of the Raja Kalche 1 soon reached the province of Gazarate, and presented himself before the gates of Amed-Abad. The Governor of the city was Chah-Navaze-kan,2 the father-inlaw of Aureng-Zebe, descended from the ancient Princes of Machate2 [Mascate], a man of no military reputation, but

² Or as he is now called, the Rao of Catch (Kachh).

Shihnawaz Khin was father-in-law to Murid Bakhsh also, and his daughter was in Ahmadabid when Dárá came there. It was through her entreaties that Shihnawaz Khin was induced to espouse the came of Dárá.

^a Muscat (Máskat), the chief town of Omán in Arabia. This is interesting as it serves to support the statement in the Ma-ariru-I Umard of 'Abdor Razzak al Huszini, that Sháhnawaz Khán was a

accomplished, polite, and addicted to pleasure. The city of Amed Abad 1 contained a strong garrison, and was in a condition to oppose a vigorous resistance; but whether from failure of courage in the governor, or from his having been taken by surprise, the gates were opened to Dara and he was received by Chah-Navace with every mark of honour. It seems indeed that this man was so assidnous in paying court to Dara, that he succeeded in impressing his mind with an opinion of his devotedness and esteem; and although warned of his treacherous character, the deluded Prince had the imprudence to confide in the governor's professions, communicating to him the whole of his plans, and showing him the letters from the Raja Jessomseingue, and several other faithful adherents, who were making preparations to join him with all the forces they could muster.

Aureng-Zebe was equally surprised and perplexed when he heard that Dara was master of Amed-Abad. knew that his pecuniary resources were still considerable, and he could entertain no doubt that not only his brother's friends, but malcontents from all parts, would flock around his standard. He was not insensible of the importance of following Dara in person and dislodging him from so advantageous a position: but at the same time he saw the danger of withdrawing so far from Agra and Chah-Jehan, and of marching his army into provinces

son of Mirra Rustam Kandahári, a great-grandson of Shah Ismail, king of Persia. It is usually stated that he was the son of the water Asaph Khan, the Prime Minister of the Emperor Jahangir. For an account of 'the ancient Princes of Mascate' of Bernier's parrative, see the late Rev. George Percy Bulger's Hittery of the Indust and Translated from the original Arabic. Lundon. Seyvids of 'Oman. Hakluyt Society, 1871.

Situated about 50 miles north of the head of the Gulf of Cambay and 310 miles from Bombay, on the banks of the Sabarmatal river, founded, in 1413, by Ahmad Shah on the site of an ancient Hindoo tity, and one of the most splendid towns of India during the 16th and

17th contudes.

which comprehended the territories of Jesseingue, Jessomseingue, and other powerful Rajas. His attention was also distracted by the rapid advance of Sultan Sujah—then near Elabar—with a powerful army, and by the preparations which he understood were being made by Soliman-Chekouh in conjunction with the Raja of Serenaguer to take an active part in the war. He was placed in a critical and intricate situation; but his best course, he thought, was to leave Dara for the present with Chah-Navaze-kan, and to march toward Sultan Sujah, who had already crossed

the Ganges at Elabas.

Sultan Sujah encamped at a small village called Kadjoüé, a situation which on account of a large talah, or reservoir of water, was judiciously chosen.1 There he determined to await the attack of Aureng-Zebe, who, on bringing up his army, took up a position on the banks of a small river, distant about a league and a half. Between the two armies was a spacious plain well adapted for them to engage. Aureng-Zebe felt impatient to finish the contest, and on the day after his arrival, leaving his baggage on the other side of the river, proceeded to the attack. The Emir-Jemla, erstwhile prisoner in the Decan, joined him on the morning of the action with the forces he could collect; the flight of the unhappy Dara having released his wife and children from captivity, and his own imprisonment being no longer necessary to the promotion of Aureng-Zebe's designs. The battle was warmly contested, and the efforts of the assailants were almost incredible; but Sultan Sujah maintained his ground, repulsing every assault with great slaughter, and increasing Aureng-Zehe's embarrassment by steadily adhering to his

^{3 *} Shuja's army rested by the tank of Khajwa or Kathhwa'—Amali Shija. Now called Khajuha about jomiles to the west of Fatchpur-Haswa in the Fatchpur District, between the Ganges and the Junna. The battle was fought on the 5th January 1659. Thidd is another form of the word talks, meaning an artificial pond, or tank as usually translated.

plan of not advancing into the plain. To defend the advantageous and well-fortified position he had selected was for the present his sole object, foreseeing that the heat of the weather would very soon compel his enemy to retreat to the river, and that it would then be the time to fall with effect upon his rear-guard. Aureng-Zebe was very sensible of the reasons which actuated his brother, and became the more intent on pressing forward. But a new and unexpected source of uneasiness now presented itself.

He was informed that the Raja Jessomseingue, who had, with apparent sincerity, entered into terms of amity, had fallen suddenly upon the rear-guard, routed and put it to flight, and that he was now employed in pillaging the baggage and treasure. The news soon spread; and as is common in Asiatic armies, the fears of the soldiers multiplied the danger. But Aureng-Zebe did not lose his presence of mind, and being aware that retreat would be ruinous to his hopes, he determined, as at the battle with Dara, not to recede, but await with firmness the progress of events. The disorder spread more and more among the troops, and Sultan Sujah availing himself of so unlooked-for an opportunity, commenced a furious attack. An arrow killed the man who guided Aureny-Zebe's elephant; the animal became unmanageable, and the danger growing more appalling, he was about to dismount, when Emir Jemla, who was near him, and whose conduct the whole of this day excited the admiration of every beholder, ejaculated with a loud voice, Decankon! Decankou! (where is the Decan?)1 and prevented him from accomplishing his fatal purpose. Aureng-Zebe was

¹ This warvery was probably used somewhat tauntingly in the sense of 'Where are ye now, O men of the Deccan?' See p. 50, footnute.' This and the warveries given at p. 50, may be taken as similar to the 'Doon the Gallow-gate, my lads' of Sir John Moore, to encourage a regiment in the Peniasula which had a number of Glasgow men in its ranks; or to the slegan, 'It's a far cry to Loch Awe,' and that of the clan of Grant, 'Stand fast, Craigellachie,' so nobly maintained of late by one of the clan at Thobal.

now to all appearance reduced to the last extremity: his situation seemed irremediable, and he was every moment expecting to fall into the enemy's hands. Yet such is the caprice of fortune, that he was in a few minutes crowned with victory; and Sullan Sujah was obliged, like Dara at the battle of Samanguer, to the for his life.

Sultan Sujah owed his discomfiture to the same triffing circumstance as occasioned the defeat of his eldest brother. -that of descending from his elephant for the sake of more expeditiously following the retreating foe: but it may be doubted whether the man by whose advice he seted was influenced by an honest or a perfidious intention. Allah-verdi-kan, one of his principal officers, carnestly entreated him to mount a horse, and it is remarkable that he made use of an artifice very similar to that of Calil-ullahkan at the battle of Samonguer. He ran towards Sultan Sujah, and, when yet some way off, saluted him (as did Calibullah-kan), and then, joining his hands in the manner of fervent entreaty, he said: 'Why, my Prince, incur unnecessary risk on this exalted elephant? do you not see that the enemy is in complete disorder, and that it were an unpardonable fault not to pursue him with alacrity? Mount your horse, and you are King of the Indies. As in the case of Dara, the sudden disappearance of the Prince from the view of the whole army induced a general idea that he was either killed or betrayed; the troops fell into disorder, and dispersed, without the possibility of restoring their ranks.2

Aliwardí Khán, Governor of Patna, who espoused the cause of Sultán Shujáh, whom he followed to Bengal, where he was killed in July 1659.

^{*} See pp. 53, 54. Father Joseph Tieffenthaler, in the article on 'Cadjona' (Khajuhá) in his Description of Hinduston, Berlin, ed. 1791, p. 234, says that Prince Sujah's elephant fell into a pit (which may have been a dry well, not uncommon in those parts at the present day) and that then the Prince fiel. Tieffenthaler also states that a fine serai ('caravanserai') at 'Cadjona' was the one built by Aurangreh to commemorate his victory. This fort-like serai, a walled garden (called

Jessomseingue, perceiving the strange turn that the action had taken, contented himself with securing the fruits of his plunder, and without loss of time returned to Agra, intending to continue his retreat thence to his own dominions. The rumour had already reached the capital that Aureng-Zebe had lost the battle; that he and Emir-Jemla were taken prisoners, and that Sultan Sujah was advancing at the head of his victorious army. Chah-hestkan, Governor of the city, and the uncle of Aureng-Zebe, so fully believed the report, that when he saw Jessomseingur, of whose treason he had been apprised, approach the gate of the city, he grasped, in his despair, a cup of poison. He was prevented, however, from swallowing it by the promptitude of his women, who threw themselves upon him, and dashed the cup to the ground. Two days elapsed before the inhabitants of Agra were undeceived; and it is not doubted that the Raja would have succeeded in releasing Chah-Jehan from confinement had he acted with vigour and decision;-had he threatened with boldness, and promised with liberality: but as he was acquainted with the actual state of affairs, he would neither venture to prolong his stay in the capital, nor to undertake any daring enterprise: he merely marched through the town, and proceeded homeward, agreeably to his original intention.

Aureng-Zebe was full of inquietude as to the probable proceedings of Jessomseingne, and expected to hear of a revolution at Agra. He, therefore, scarcely followed Sultan Sujah in his retreat, but directed his rapid steps to the capital with the whole of his army. He soon learnt, however, that the troops whom he had just encountered, and who suffered little or no diminution of numbers in the

the Ridshihi High, or Royal Garden), and a masonry tank with an area of fourteen acres, still remain as a memorial of imperial magnificence. The scrai has as many as 130 acts of vaulted rooms, three of which have been thrown into one to serve as a school. The square in the centre of the scrai has as a sea of ten acres, and 223 acres in all are covered by these memorial works.

late action, were daily receiving considerable accession of strength from the different Rajas whose territories were situated on both sides of the Ganges, and who were induced to give their assistance on the strength of the reputation Sullan Sujah had for wealth and liberality. He found also that his brother was establishing himself in Elabas, that important and celebrated passage of the Ganges, and justly considered the key of Bengale.

Under these circumstances, it occurred to Aureng-Zebe that he had two persons near him very capable of rendering him assistance-his eldest son, and Emir-Jemla; but he knew that those who have rendered essential service to their Prince often become inflated with the idea that no recompence is too great for them; He already perceived that Sultan Mahmoud betrayed impatience of paternal control, and was continually presuming on the skill and prowess he had displayed in the capture of the citadel of Agra, whereby all the plans of Chale Jehan had been baffled. In regard to the Emir, the Prince fully appreciated his transcendent talents, his conduct, and his courage; but these very excellencies filled him with apprehension and distrust : for the Emir's great riches, and the reputation he possessed of being the prime mover in all affairs of importance, and the most acute statesman in India, left no doubt on the mind of Aureng-Zebe that the expectations of this extraordinary man were as high as those of Sultan Muhmoud,

These considerations would have disconcerted an ordinary mind; but Aureag-Zebe knew how to remove these two personages to a distance from the court with so much address that neither the one nor the other felt any cause of complaint. He sent them at the head of a powerful army against Sullan Sajoh, giving the Emir to understand not only that the valuable government of Hengale was intended for him during life, but that he should be succeeded therein by his son. He added that this was but one mark of the sense he cutertained of his

great services: when he had defeated Sajah he should be created Mir-ul-ourah [Amir-ul-Umara]; the first and most honourable title in Hindoustan, signifying Prince of the Operahs.

To Sultan Mahmoud he addressed only these few words. Remember that you are the eldest of my children, and that you are going to fight your own battles. You have done much; and yet, properly speaking, you cannot be said to have done anything until the projects of Sultan Sujah be defeated, and you become master of his person; he is the most formidable of our adversaries.

Aureng-Zebe then presented both the Emir and Sultan Mahmoud with the customary seraphas, or rich vests, a few horses and elephants, superbly caparisoned, and contrived to retain at court his son's wife (the King of Golhonda's daughter) and Emir-Jemla's only son Mahmet Emir-kan; the former, because the presence of so distinguished a woman might embarrass the operations of the army; the latter, because he was partial to the youth, and wished to superintend his education: but he viewed them doubtless in the light of hostages for the fidelity of the two commanders.

Sultan Sujah was continually in dread that the Rajas of Lower Bengale, who had reason to complain of his exactions, would be excited to insurrection against his anthority. He was, therefore, no sooner apprised of these arrangements than he broke up his camp at Elabas, and marched to Benarés and Paina, and afterwards to Mogniere, a small town on the Ganges, commonly called the Key of the Kingdom of Bengale, forming a species of strait between the mountains and a forest which is contiguous to the town. He made this movement from an apprehension that it was meant to cut off his retreat, and that Emir-

Monghyr, the fort described by Bernier, now contains the public offices, and the residences of the Europeans.

³ Sar-o-pa, from the Persian meaning from head to foot, cap-à-pie, a complete suit, or sobe of honour.

Jenda would cross the river either above or below Elabas. Intending to make a stand at Moguiere, he threw up fortifications, and cut a deep trench (which I saw some years afterwards) extending from the town and the river to the mountains. In this strong position he resolved to wait the approach of his enemy, and dispute the passage of the Ganges. He was, however, greatly mortified when informed that the troops which were slowly descending the banks of the river were designed merely for a feint; that Emir-Jemla was not with them; but that having gained over the Rajas whose territories lay among the mountains, on the right of the river, he and Sultan Mahmoud were marching with the utmost speed across those mountains toward Rage-Mehalle2 secompanied by the flower of the army, evidently with the object of shutting him out from Benyale, He was constrained, therefore, to abandon all the fortifications erected with so much care : yet notwithstanding that his march was much lengthened by the necessity of following the various bends of the Ganges, still he arrived at Rage-Mehalle some days before the Emir. Time was afforded him to throw up entrenchments; because, when the combined commanders perceived that Sultan Sujah could not be prevented from occupying Rage-Mehalle, they inclined on the left toward the Ganges, through almost impracticable paths, for the purpose of receiving the troops, heavy artillery and baggage, which were coming down the river. When this object was accomplished, they proceeded to the attack of Saltan Sujah, who defended his position during five or six days with considerable success; but perceiving that the ceaseless fire of the Emir's artillery rained his fortifications. which consisted only of made earth, sand, and fascines,

¹ On the 31st December 1665, when travelling with Tavernier.

- Travelt, vol. i. p. 124.

² Rajmahal, Akbar's capital of Bengal, on the right bank of the Ganges. The Muhammadan city is now in rules, extending for about four miles to the west of the modern city.

and that the approaching rains would render his position still less tenable, he withdrew under favour of the night, leaving behind him two larges pieces of ordnance. The fear of some ambuscade deterred the enemy from pursuing him that night, and before break of day the rain descended so violently that no idea could be entertained of quitting Rage-Mehalle. Happily for Sultan Sujah, the shower that fell so opportunely, was the commencement of those incessant and heavy rains with which the country is visited in the months of July, August, September, and October. They render the roads so difficult that no army can set offensively during their prevalence; and upon the present occasion the Emir was obliged to put his troops into winter-quarters at Rage-Mehalle; while Sujah remained at liberty to choose the place of his retreat, and to reinforce his army. A large number of Portuguese came to him from Lower Bengale, bringing with them several pieces of cannon. The great fertility of the soil attracts many Europeans to these parts, and it was Sullan Sujah's policy to encourage and conciliate the foreigners settled in this province. He particularly favoured the Portuguese Missionary Fathers, holding out a prospect of future wealth to them all, and promising to build churches wheresoever they might desire to have them erected. Indeed these people were capable of rendering the Prince essential service ; the Frankish families residing in the kingdom of Bengale, whether half-castel or of Portuguese birth, amounting to eight or nine thousand, at the lowest computation,

During the interval there arose a serious disagreement between Sullan Mahmoud and Emir-Jemla. The former aspired to the absolute and undivided command of the army, and behaved to the latter with studied insolence and contempt. He even allowed expressions to escape him that denoted a total disregard of the affection and respect due to his father; spoke openly of his schievement in the

^{1 &#}x27;Mestic' in the original,

fortress of Agra, and boasted that it was to him Aureng-Zebe should feel indebted for his crown. He was at length informed of the anger he had excited in his father's breast : and fearing lest the Emir should receive orders to seize his person, he withdrew [from Rajmahal] attended by very few followers, and retiring towards Sultan Sujah made that Prince a tender of his services. But Sujah, suspecting this to be a device of Aureng-Zebe and of Emir-Jemla to entrap him, placed no confidence in his splendid promises, or in his oaths of undeviating constancy. He, therefore, intrusted him with no command of importance, and kept an eye upon his conduct. Sultan Mahmond was soon disgusted with this treatment, and, after the absence of a few months. in despair of what might befall him, abandoned his new master, and ventured to appear in Jemia's presence. The Emir received him with some degree of courtesy, promising to intercede with Aureng-Zebe in his behalf, and persuade him to pardon this great transgression.

Many persons have told me that all this strange conduct of Sultan Mamoud was planned by Aureng-Zebe, who was very willing to see his son engage in any enterprise, however hazardous, which had for its object the ruin of Sultan Sujah. Whatever the event might be, he hoped to gain some specious pretext for having Sultan Mahmoud conveyed to a place of security. Accordingly, when informed of his son's return [to Rājmahāl], feeling, or feigning to feel, the atmost indignation, he sent a letter, commanding him in peremptory terms to repair to Dehli. The unhappy Prince dared not disobey; but he had scarcely set foot on the opposite shore of the Gasges, when a company of armed men seized and forced him into an embary 1 as had been Morad-Bakche, he was then conducted to Goüaleor in which fortress he will probably end his days. 2

¹ See p. 69 text, and footnote 1.

See ante, p. 21, footnote?. Sultán Muhammad was removed from Gwalior to Salingarh and there poisoned. He was buried at the mausoleum of Humáyún.

Having thus disposed of his eldest son, Anreng-Zebe advised his second son, Sullan Masum, not to imitate the lofty and unyielding spirit of his brother. 'The art of reigning, he told him, 'is so delicate, that a King's jealousy should be awakened by his very shadow. Be wise, or a fate similar to that which has befallen your brother awaits you. Indulge not the fatal delusion that Aureng-Zebe may be treated by his children as was Jehan-Guyre by his son Chah-Jehan; or that, like the latter, he will permit the sceptre to fall from his hand."



Here, however, I may observe that, judging from the whole tenor of Sulian Mazum's conduct, his father has no reason to suspect him of any evil design: the most abject slave cannot be more tractable or obsequious; nor is it possible that the language and behaviour of the lowest menial should discover less of the workings of a discontented and ambitious mind. Aureng-Zebe never appeared more careless of power and dignity, or more devoted to the cause of religion and charity. There are many shrewd persons, however, who believe that the father's character is, in every respect, the archetype of the son's, and that the heart of Sultan Mazum is set upon sovereign authority,! of which we may have proof in due course; meanwhile let us pass on to other occurrences.

Whilst all these events were happening in Bengale, Saltan Sajah resisted, to the best of his ability, his skilful opponent, passed, as he judged it expedient, from one bank of the Ganges to the other, crossing and recrossing the rivers and water-courses with which this part of the country abounds. Meanwhile, Aureng-Zebe remained in the neighbourhood of Agra. At length, after having consigned Marad-Bakche to Goüalcor, he went to Dehli, where he began in good earnest, and undisguisedly, to assume all the acts, and exercise all the prerogatives, of a legitimate King. His attention was principally engaged in the formation of plans for expelling Darafrom Guzarate; an object very near his heart, but, for the reasons already stated, difficult of accomplishment. Nevertheless, his extraordinary skill and continued good-fortune overcame every impediment.

Jessoms cingue had no sooner returned to his own country than he employed the treasure plundered at the battle of Kadjoud in raising a strong army. He then informed Dara that he would join him with all his forces on the road leading to Agra, on which city he advised him to march without delay. The Prince had himself contrived to assemble a large number of troops, though not perhaps of the choicest description: and being sanguine in his expectation that as he approached the capital, accompanied by this distinguished Raja, his friends would be encouraged to crowd around his standard, he quitted Ahmed-Abad and hastened

^{&#}x27;Aurangaeb, at this time about forty-one years old, lived and reigned to the age of ninety, and was succeeded, in 1707, by his son, Sultin Mu'arram, with the title of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah, who survived his father only five years.

to Asmire,2 a city seven or eight days' journey from Agra. But Jessomreingue violated his promise. The Raja Jesseingue considering that the chances of war were decidedly in favour of Aureng Lebe and that it was his best policy to conciliate that Prince, exercised his influence with Jessomscingue to deter him from espousing the cause of Dara. 'What can be your inducement,' he wrote to him, 'to endeavour to sustain the falling fortunes of this prince? Perseverance in such an undertaking must inevitably bring rain upon you and your family, without advancing the interests of the wretched Dara. From Aureng. Zebe you will never obtain forgiveness. I, who am also a Raja, conjure you to spare the blood of the Ragipous. Do not buoy yourself up with the hope of drawing the other rajas to your party; for I have means to counteract any such attempt. This is a business which concerns all the Indaux (that is to say all the Gentiles)," and you cannot be permitted to kindle a flame that would soon rage throughout the kingdom, and which no effort might be able to extinguish. If, on the other hand, you leave Dara to his own resources, Aureng-Zebe will bury all the past in oblivion; will not reclaim the money you obtained at Kadjoué, but will at once nominate you to the government of Guzarate. You can easily appreciate the advantage of ruling a province so contiguous to your own territories : there you will remain in perfect quiet and security, and I hereby offer you my guarantee for the exact fulfilment of all I have mentioned.' To be brief, Jessumschague was persuaded to remain at home, while Aureng-Zebe advanced with the whole of his army on Amire, and encamped within view of Dara.

Who that reads this history can repress an emotion of

In the original, 'c'est à dire toute la Gentilité.'

¹ Ajmere, about 230 miles to the south-west of Agra. The Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan often resided there, and it was here that Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I. of England, was received by the Emperor Jahangir in December 1651.

pity for the misguided and betrayed Darn? He now discovered the bad faith of Jessomseingue; but it was too late to provide against its fatal consequences. Willingly would be have conducted the army back to Amed-Ahad, but how could be hope to effect this desirable object in the midst of the hot season, and during the drought that then prevails; having a march of five-and-thirty days to accomplish through the territories of Rajas, friends or allies of Jessomseingue, and closely pressed by the eager Aureno-Zobe at the head of a fresh and numerous army? 'It is better,' he said, 'to die at once the death of a soldier; the contest is sadly nucqual, but on this spot I must conquer or perish.' He did not, however, comprehend the full extent of his danger: treason was lurking where he least expected it; and he continued to confide in the perfidious Chah-Navaze-kan, who kept up a regular correspondence with Aureng-Zehe, putting him in possession of all Dam's designs. As a just retribution for his faithlessness, this man was slain in the battle, either by the hand of Darn himself, or, as is thought more probable, by the swords of persons in Aureng-Zebe's army, who, being the secret partisans of Dara, felt apprehensive that Chah-Navaze-kan would denounce them, and make mention of the letters they had been in the habit of writing to that Prince. But what now availed the death of the traitor? It was from the first moment of his taking possession of Ahmedahad that Dara ought to have listened to the sage advice of his best friends and treated Chah-Navaze with the contempt and distrust he merited.

The action commenced between nine and ten in the morning. L. Dara's artillery, which was advantageously placed on a small eminence, made noise enough; but the pieces, it is supposed, were charged only with blank

For Khafi Khan's account of the defection of Raja Januari Singh and the battle (fought on the 12th and 13th March 1659 at Deora, about six miles to the muth of Ajmere), see Sit H. M. Elliot's History, etc., vol. vol. vol. pp. 238-240.

cartridges, so widely was the treachery extended. It is unnecessary to enter into any particular detail of this battle, if battle it should be called; it was soon a complete rout. I shall simply state that the first shot was scarcely fired when Jesseingue, placing himself within sight of Dara, sent an officer to inform him that if he wished to avoid capture he must instantly quit the field. The poor Prince, seized with sudden fear and surprise, acted upon this advice, and flew with so much precipitation that he gave no directions concerning his baggage; indeed, considering the critical situation in which he was placed, he had reason to congratulate himself on being allowed time to secure his wife and family. It is certain that he was in the power of Jesseingue, and that it was to his forbearance he was indebted for his escape; but the Raja, aware of the danger that would attend any insult offered to a Prince of the blood, has upon all occasions shown respect to every branch of the Royal family.

The miserable and devoted Dara, whose only chance of preservation was to regain Amed-Abad, was constrained to pass through a long range of what might be considered hostile territory, destitute of tents and baggage. The country between Asmire and Amed-Abad consists almost entirely of territories belonging to Rajas. The Prince was accompanied by two thousand men at most; the heat was intolerable; and the Koullys followed him day and night, pillaging and assassinating so many of his soldiers that it became dangerous to separate even a few yards from the main body. These Koullys are the peasantry of this part of the country, and are the greatest robbers,

The word is supposed to be derived from the Tamil kill, meaning hire or wages t in modern times Cooly. For an interesting note on this subject, see Yole's Gaussy, under the head 'Cooly.' There is a race of hill people, the Kolks, who are to be found in Gurerat, in the Konkan, and in the Decean; and in the Rdt Addi the Koolees are spoken of as a tribe that lived near the Index. In Blacu's map of The Empire of the Great Mogel, published in 1655, territory to the north

and altogether the most unprincipled people in the Indies. Notwithstanding every obstruction, Dara contrived to advance within a day's journey from Amed-Abad, expecting to enter the city on the following day, and to assemble an army; but the hopes of the vanquished and unfortunate are seldom realised.

The Governor whom he had left in the castle of Amed-Abad, alarmed by the menaces, or allured by the promises of Aureng-Zebe, had basely described the cause of his master; and sent a letter to Dara by which he desired him not to advance nearer to the city, whose gates were shut, and whose inhabitants were armed to oppose his entrance. I had now been three days with Dara, whom I met on the road by the strangest chance imaginable; and being destitute of any medical attendant, he compelled me to accompany him in the capacity of physician. The day preceding that on which he received the Governor's communication, he expressed his fear lest I should be murdered by the Koullys, and insisted upon my passing the night in the Karavanserrak, where he then was. The cords of the kanales, or screens, which concessed his wife and women (for he was without even a tent) were fastened to the wheels of the carriage, wherein I reposed. This may appear almost incredible to those who know how extremely jealous the great men of Himlousian are of their wives, and I mention the circumstance as a proof of the low condition to which the fortunes of the Prince were reduced. It was at break of day that the Governor's message was delivered, and the shricks of the females

west of Cambay is titled Reins des Collys. Chardin, in his Transh in Persia (p. 479, vol. vil. of Langiés' edition, Paris 1811), tells us of a race of robbers in Persia whom he calls Ranges or quilys, and says of them that they were all arrant rogues and thieves, like the gipsies of his own country. In The Pronter Mail, Allahabad, 19th August 1891, will be found (pp. 239-240) a long secount of the recent doings in the Akola District of a 'Native Jack Sheppard,' one Ranjee Koit.

drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other, at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Darn stepping out, more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another; stopping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation depicted in every countenance, and felt assured that he should be left without a single follower; but what was to become of him? whither must be go? to delay his departure was to accelerate his ruin.

During the time that I remained in this Prince's retinue, we marched, nearly without intermission, day and night; and so insupportable was the heat, and so suffocating the dost, that of the three large oxen of Guzarate which drew my carriage, one had died, another was in a dying state, and the third was unable to proceed from fatigue. Dara felt anxious to retain me in his service, especially as one of his wives had a bad wound in her leg; yet neither his threats nor entreaties could procure for me a single

1 Tavarnier, who probably derived his information from Bernier himself, thus describes this incident: 'As he [Dará] approached AHMADÁRÁD, Monsieur BERNTER, a French physician, who was on his way to Agea to visit the Court of the GREAT MOGUL, and who is well known to all the world, as much by his personal merits as by the charming accounts of his travels, was of great assistance to one of the wives of this Prince who was attacked with erysipelas in one leg. Dáná Snán, having learnt that an accomplished European physician was at hand, sent immediately for him, and Mousieur BERNIER went to his tent, where he saw this lady and examined into her silment, for which he gave a remedy and quick relief. This poor Prince, being much pleased with Monsieur BERNIER, strongly pressed him to remain in his service, and he might have accepted the offer if Dáná Suán had not received news the same night that the Governor whom he had left at ARMADÁRAD had refused to allow his quarter-master to enter the town, and had declared for Auranozen. This compelled Dark Suku to decamp quickly in the darkness of the night, and take the road to SIND, fearing some new treachery, which he could not defend himself from in the unhappy condition in which he found himself.'- Travels, vol. I. p. 349.

horse, ox, or camel; so totally destitute of power and influence had he become! I remained behind, therefore, because of the absolute impossibility of continuing the journey, and could not but weep when I beheld the Prince depart with a force diminished to four or five hundred horsemen. There were also a couple of elephants laden, it was said, with gold and silver. Dara, I understood, intended to take the road to Tatta-bakar, and under all circumstances this was not perhaps an unwise selection. There was indeed only a choice of appalling difficulties, and I could not cherish the hope that the Prince would succeed in crossing the sandy desert which separated him from that Fort. In fact, nearly the whole of the men, and many of the women, did perish; some dying of thirst, hunger, or fatigue, while others were killed by the hands of the merciless Koullys. Happy would it have been for Dara had he not himself survived this perilous march! but he struggled through every obstacle, and reached the territory of the Raja Katche.1

The Raja received him with the utmost hospitality, promising to place the whole of his army at Dara's disposal, provided that Prince gave his daughter in marriage to his son.² But the intrigues of Jesseingue were as successful with this Raja as they had been with Jessomscingue; a change in his conduct was very soon perceptible, and Dara, having reason to apprehend that the barbarian had a design against his life, departed without a moment's hesitation for Tala-bakar.

I should, I fear, only tire my readers were I to enter upon a long narration of my own adventures with Messieurs the Koullys, or robbers; relating how I moved

¹ Kháfi Khán states that when Dárá was denied entry to Ahmadabád he went 'to Kari, two kos from the city and there sought assistance from Kánji Koli, one of the most notorious rebels and robbers of that country. Kánji joined him and conducted him to the confines of Kachh.'

² This confirms in several details, Kháfi Khán's narrative. See Sir H. M. Elliot's *History*, vol. vii. p. 243.

their compassion, and by what means I preserved the little money which was about my person. I made a grand display of my professional skill; and my two servants, who experienced the same terror as myself, declared I was the most eminent physician in the world, and that Dana's soldiers had used me extremely ill, depriving me of everything valuable. It was fortunate for me that we succeeded in creating in these people an interest in my favour; for after detaining me seven or eight days, they attached a bullock to my carriage, and conducted me within view of the minarets of Amed-Abad. In this city I met with an Omrah who was proceeding to Dehli, and I travelled under his protection. On the road our eyes were too often obended with the sight of dead men, elephants, oxen, horses, and camels; the wreeks of poor Dara's army.

While Dara pursued his dreary way towards Tata-bakar, the war was still raging in Bengale; Sultan Sajah making much greater efforts than had been foreseen by his enemies. But the state of affairs in this quarter occasioned little inquietude to Aureng-Zebe, who knew how to appreciate the talents and conduct of Emir-Jenla; and the distance of Bengale from Agra lessened the immediate importance of the military operations in that country. A source of much greater anxiety was the vicinity of Soliman-Chekouh, and the apprehension which seemed generally to prevail that he and the Raja were about to descend with a hostile force from the mountains, distant scarcely eight days journey from Agra. This enemy Aureng-Zebe was too prudent to despise, and how to circumvent Soliman-Chekouh became now the chief object of his attention.

The most likely method of attaining that object was, he conceived, to negotiate with the Raja of Screnaguer, through the medium of Jesseingue: who accordingly wrote to him letter upon letter promising the most splendid remoneration if he delivered up Soliman-Chekonh, and threatening the severest punishment should be refuse to

¹ Ol Srinagar, i.e. the Siwalika. See p. 59. loomote 1.

comply. The Raja answered that the loss of his whole territory would affect him less than the idea that he had been guilty of so base and ungenerous an action. When it became evident that neither solicitation nor menace could move the Raja from the path of honour and rectitude, Aureng-Zebe marched his army to the foot of the mountains, and there employed an immense number of pioneers in levelling huge rocks and widening narrow ways: but the Raja laughed at these vain and puerile attempts to gain an ingress into his country; the mountains would have been inaccessible though assailed by the armies of four such countries as Hindowstan; so that after all this display of impotent resentment, the army was withdrawn.

Meanwhile Dara approached the fortress of Tata-bakar; and when only two or three days' journey from the place, he received intelligence (as I have been since informed by our Frenchmen and other Franks who formed part of the garrison) that Mir-Baba, by whom the fortress had been long besieged, had at length reduced it to the last extremity. Rice and meat sold for upwards of a crown per pound, and other necessaries in the same proportion. Still the Governor continued undaunted; making frequent and successful sorties, and in every respect approving himself a prudent, brave, and faithful soldier; opposing, with equal calmness and resolution, the vigorous assault of General Mir-Baba, and deriding both the threats and the promises of Aureng-Zebe.

That such was the praiseworthy conduct of the Governor I have been well assured by Frenchmen, our fellowcountrymen, and many other Franks who were his companions in arms. I have heard them say that when he received news of Dara's approach, he increased his liberal payments; and that the whole garrison would cheerfully have sacrificed themselves in an effort to drive the enemy

I have in the original, worth 4s. 6d.

a Liers in the original, equivalent to 11b. 10s. 10} dr. av.

from the walls, and open a passage for the entrance of Dara; so well did this valiant commander understand how to gain the hearts of his soldiers. He had moreover so judiciously managed, by means of numerous and intelligent spies, whom he contrived, by various dexterous schemes, to introduce in Mir-Baba's camp, as to impose upon the besiegers a firm belief that Dara was coming up with a formidable body of troops for the purpose of raising the siege. These spies pretended they had themselves seen him and his army; and this stratagem produced all the effect which the governor anticipated; terror seized the enemy's troops, and no doubt was entertained that, if Dara had arrived at the time he was confidently expected, Mir-Baba's army would partly have disbanded, and partly joined the Prince's party.

But Dara seemed doomed never to succeed in any en-Considering it impossible to raise the siege with his handful of men, he was at one time resolved to eros, the river Indus, and make the best of his way to Persia; although that plan would likewise have been attended with nearly insurmountable obstacles: he would have had to traverse the lands of the Patons,1 inconsiderable Rajas who acknowledge neither the authority of Persia nor of the Mogol; and a vast wilderness interposed in which he could not hope to find wholesome water. But his wife persuaded him to abandon the idea of penetrating into that kingdom, alleging a much weaker reason than those I have mentioned. If he persevered in his intention, he must make up his mind, she told him, to see both her and his daughter slaves of the Perviun Monarch, an ignominy which no member of his family could possibly endure. She and Dara forgot, or seemed to forget, that the wife of Houmayon, when placed under similar circumstances, was subjected to no such indignity, but treated with great respect and kindness."

Here meaning the Afghans, and their numerous clans.

¹ See p. 71.

While Dam's mind was in this state of perplexity and indecision, it occurred to him that he was at no considerable distance from Gion-kan,1 a Palan of some power and note, whose life he had been twice the means of preserving, when condemned by Chah-Jehan to be thrown under the elephant's feet, as a punishment for various acts of rebellion. To Gion-kan Dura determined to proeced, hoping to obtain by his means forces to enable him to drive Mir-Baba from the walls of Tata-bakar. The plan he now proposed to himself was briefly this :- after raising the siege with the troops supplied by the Palan, he intended to proceed, with the treasure deposited in that city, to Kandahar, whence he might easily reach the kingdoin of Kaboul. When in Kaboul he felt quite sanguine in the expectation that Mohabet-kan would zealously and unhesitatingly embrace his cause. It was to Dara this officer was indebted for the government of that country, and being possessed of great power and influence, and very popular in Kaboul, the Prince was not unreasonable in the hope that he would find in Mohabet-kan a sincere and efficacions ally. But Dara's family, agitated by dismal forebodings, employed every entreaty to prevent him from venturing in Gion-kan's presence. His wife, daughter, and his young son, Sepe Chekauk, fell at his feet, endenvouring, with tears in their eyes, to turn him aside from his design. The Palan, they observed, was notoriously a robber and a rebel, and to place confidence in such a character was at once to rush headlong into destruction. There was no sufficient reason, they added, why he should be so pertinaciously bent upon raising the siege of Tatabakar; the road to Kaboul might be safely pursued without

² The "Malik Jiwan Ayyub, an Afghin" of the "Alangir mime; whose territory was Dadar, the chief town of the same name, being about 5 miles east of the Botan Paw, and between Sibi and Rimili on the Botan section of the Sind Pishin Ry., 'surrounded by barr and rocky hills, which render the heat in summer perhaps greater than that of any other place in the world in the same parallel [29" a8" N.] of latitude.'

that operation, for Mir-Baba would scarcely abandon the siege for the sake of interrupting his march.

Dara, as if burried away by his evil genius, could not perceive the force of these arguments; remarking, what indeed was the truth, that the journey to Kaboal would be full of difficulty and danger; and that he did not believe it possible he should be betrayed by a man bound to him by such strong ties of gratitude. He departed, notwithstanding every solicitation; and soon afforded an additional and melancholy proof that the wicked feel not the weight of obligations when their interests demand the sacrifice of their benefactors.

This robber, who imagined that Dara was attended by a large body of soldiers, received the Prince with apparent respect and cordiality, quartering his men upon the inhabitants, with particular injunctions to supply all their wants, and treat them as friends and brethren. But when Gion-kan ascertained that Dara's followers did not exceed two or three hundred men, he threw off all disguise. It is still doubtful whether he had been tampered with by Aureng-Zebe, or whether he were suddenly tempted to the commission of this monstrous crime. The sight of a few mules laden with the gold, which Dara had saved from the hands of the robbers, by whom he had been constantly harassed, very probably excited his cupidity. Be

Tavernier tells us that Dark, on hearing of the death 'of one of his wives whom he loved most 'from heat and thirst (see p. 105, footnote's, for Kháfi Khán's account, which confirms Tavernier), was so overcome by this grief, although he had always appeared to be unmoved on all previous occasions of misforture, that he refused all the consolation offered by his friends and put on garnents of mourning. 'It was in this miserable costume that he entered the house of the traitor Juris Khán, where, having laid himself down on a camp-bed to test, a new subject of grief appeared on his awakening. Juris Khán on attempting to seite Septert Sherro, the second son of Dárá Shán, the young prince, though but a child, resisted the traitor with courage, and having taken up his how and arrow laid three men low on the ground. But being alone he was unable to resist the number of traitors, who accured the doors of the house, and did not allow any one of those who might

this as it may, the Patas having assembled, during the night, a considerable number of armed men, seized this gold, together with the women's jewels, and fell upon Dara and Sepe-Chekonh, killed the persons who attempted to defend them, and tied the Prince on the back of an elephant. The public executioner was ordered to sit behind, for the purpose of cutting off his head, upon the first appearance of resistance, either on his own part, or on that of any of his adherents; and in this degrading posture Dara was carried to the army before Tata-bakar, and delivered into the hands of General Mir-Baba. This officer then commanded the Traitor, Gion-kan, to proceed with his prisoner, first to Lahor and afterwards to Dehli.

When the unhappy Prince was brought to the gates of Dehli, it became a question with Aureng-Zebe, whether, in conducting him to the fortress of Goualeor, he should be made to pass through the capital. It was the opinion of some courtiers that this was by all means to be avoided, because, not only would such an exhibition be derogatory to the royal family, but it might become the signal for revolt, and the rescue of Dara might be successfully attempted. Others maintained, on the contrary, that he ought to be seen by the whole city; that it was necessary to strike the people with terror and astonishment, and to impress their minds with an idea of the absolute and

have aided him to enter. DARA SHAH, having been awakened by the noise which these cruel satellites made when seizing this little Prince, saw before his eyes his son, whom they brought in with his hands tied behind his back. The unhappy father, unable to doubt any longer the black treason of his host, could not restrain himself from launching these words against the traitor Jun Kuán: "Finish fanith," said be, "ungrateful and infomeus wretch that then ort, finith that which these hast commenced; we are the victims of soil fortune and the original for having saved thy life, and remember that a Prince of the royal blood never had his hands tied behind his back." Jun Khán, being to some extent moved by these words, ordered the little Prince to be released, and metrly placed goards over DARA Shán and his son.—Travels, vol. i. pp. 351, 352.

irresistible power of Aureng Zebe. It was also advisable, they added, to undeceive the Omrahs and the people, who still entertained doubts of Dara's captivity, and to extinguish at once the hopes of his secret partisans. Aureng-Zebe viewed the matter in the same light; the wretched prisoner was therefore secured on an elephant; his young son, Sepe-Chekouh, placed at his side, and behind them, instead of the executioner, was seated Bhadur-Kan.1 This was not one of the majestic elephants of Pegu or Ceylon, which Dara had been in the habit of mounting, pompously caparisoned, the harness gilt, and trappings decorated with figured work; and carrying a beautifully painted howdah, inlaid with gold, and a magnificent canopy to shelter the Prince from the sun: Dara was now seen seated on a miserable and worn-out animal, covered with filth; he no longer wore the necklace of large pearls which distinguish the princes of Hindoustan, nor the rich turban and embroidered coat; he and his son were now habited in dirty cloth of the coarsest texture, and his sorry turban was wrapt round with a Kachemire shawl or scarf, resembling that worn by the meanest of the people.

Such was the appearance of Dara when led through the Bazars and every quarter of the city. I could not divest myself of the idea that some dreadful execution was about to take place, and felt surprise that government should have the hardihood to commit all these indignities upon a Prince confessedly popular among the lower orders, especially as I saw scarcely any armed force. The people had for some time inveighed bitterly against the unnatural conduct of Aureng-Zebe: the imprisonment of his father, of his son Sultan Mahmoud, and of his brother Morad-Bakche, filled every bosom with horror and disgust. The crowd assembled upon this disgraceful occasion was immense; and everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching

Bahádur Khán, one of Aurangzeb's officers, who had been sent from Ajmere in pursuit of Dárá.

language. I took my station in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city, in the midst of the largest bazar; was mounted on a good horse, and accompanied by two servants and two intimate friends. From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shricks, for the Indian people have a very tender heart; men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves. Gion-kan rode near the wretched Dara; and the abusive and indignant cries vociferated



Fig. 5 - Prince Dird Shinoh and his sen Stpale Shikoh.

as the traitor moved along were absolutely deafening. I observed some Fakires and several poor people throw stones at the infamous Palan; 1 but not a single movement was made, no one offered to draw his sword, with a

Ite received the title of Bakhtiyar Khan for this act of treachery, See Sir II. M. Elliot's History, vol. vii. pp. 245, 246 for Khaifi Khan's very vivid account of the Indignation of the people against Malik Jiwan.

view of delivering the beloved and compassionated Prince. When this disgraceful procession had passed through every part of Dehli, the poor prisoner was shut up in one of his own gardens, called Heider-Abad.¹

Aureng-Zebe was immediately made acquainted with the impression which this spectacle produced upon the public mind, the indignation manifested by the populace against the Palan, the threats held out to stone the perfidious man, and with the fears entertained of a general insurrection. A second council was consequently convened, and the question discussed, whether it were more expedient to conduct Dara to Gaiialcor, agreeably to the original intention, or to put him to death without further delay. By some it was maintained that there was no reason for proceeding to extremities, and that the Prince might safely be taken to Gonalcor, provided he were attended with a strong escort: Danech-Mend-kan, although he and Dara had long been on bad terms, enforced this opinion with all his powers of argument: but it was ultimately deeided that Dara should die, and that Sepe-Chekunh should be confined in Goualeor. At this meeting Rauchenaru-Begum betrayed all her enmity against her hapless brother, combating the arguments of Danech-Mend, and exciting Aureng-Zebe to this foul and unnatural murder. Her efforts were but too successfully seconded by Kalit-ullah-kan und Chah-hest-kan, both of them old enemies of Dara; and by Takarrab-kan, a wretched parasite recently raised to the rank of Omruh, and formerly a physician. He was originally distinguished by the appellation of Hakim Daoud, and had been compelled to fly from Persia.2 This man rendered

1 'Khizrabad, in old Dehli,' in Klaafi Khan's account.

² Hakim (Doctor) Daoud was the principal medical attendant on Shah Suff t. the king of Persia who reigned from 1628-41, but by his intriguing conduct was obliged to thy to Indix, where he amassed great wealth, part of which he spent in building one of the principal mosques in Ispahan (the Hakim Dasud Masjid), where his family lived in great type on the money be remitted to them from Hindestan. Chardin says that he was called Arch Can in India, and that his end there was a

himself conspicuous in the council by his violent harangue. *Dara ought not to live,' he exclaimed; ' the safety of the State depends upon his immediate execution; and I feel the less reluctant to recommend his being put to death, because he has long since ceased to be a Musulman, and become a Kafer. If it be sluful to shed the blood of such a person, may the ain be visited upon my own head!' An imprecation which was not allowed to pass unregarded; for divine justice overtook this man in his career of wickedness; he was soon disgraced, declared infamous, and sentenced to a miserable death.

The charge of this strocious murder was intrusted to a slave of the name of Nazer, who had been educated by Chak-Jehan, but experienced some ill-treatment from Dara. The Prince, apprehensive that poison would be administered to him, was employed with Sepe-Chekouk

miserable one, his downfall being brought on by the failure of some of his political intrigues. See p. 402 of vol. vil. of Vayages du Cherafter Chardin en Ferse, Paris 1811. Areb Can is probably intended for Takarrub Khân, as given by Bernier, as Chardin is not so correct in his transliteration as his friend Bernier.

Catron's account of this tragic scene, which he took from the narrative of Manucci, the Venetian physician, who, as has been before stated (p. 6), had attached himself to the person and fortunes of Dara, and was probably an eye-witness, is as follows:- 'Dara was waiting in his prison the decision of his fate, when his son was taken from his arms, to be conveyed to the citadel of Gualier, the ordinary place of confinement for Princes. When the father found himself deprived of his son he rightly judged that it was time to think of preparing for death. The Christian sentiments, with which the Mussionaries had endeavoured to Inspire him, were revived in the closing hour of his life. He requested to be allowed a conversation with Father Burde, a Flemish Jesuit, who had formerly instructed him in our sacred Mysteries. All communication with the Europeans was denied him. In this universal desolation, the Prince sought for consolation in God. He was heard to may more than once: Makamet has destroyed me, Jour Christ the ton of the Eternal will save me. A few hours before he was put to death Orangreh caused a captions question to be put to his brother: "What would you have done to the Emperor," they said to him, "had be fallen into your hands as you have fallen into his?" "He is a rebel and a parricide," said Dara; "let him ludge of the treatin boiling lentils, when Nazer and four other ruffians entered his apartment. 'My dear son,' he cried out, *these men are come to murder us! He then seized a small kitchen knife, the only weapon in his possession. One of the murderers having secured Sepe-Chekouh,1 the rest fell upon Dara, threw him down, and while three of the assassins held him, Nazer decapitated his wretched vietim. The head was instantly carried to Aureng Zebe, who commanded that it should be placed in a dish, and that water should be brought. The blood was then washed from the face, and when it could no longer be doubted

ment he has merited by reflecting upon his crimes, and such deserts he would have received with the utmost rigour at my hands." This answer exasperated Orangzels. He only now sought a minion who would have the harbarity to execute his orders. Navar, one of the slaves of Cha-Jaham, whose occupation was that of a writer to the Emperors, offered himself for this cruel service. He proceeded to the spot where Dara was expecting the moment which was to terminate his miseries. He found the Prince in his apartment raising his eye: to heaven, and repeating these words: "Makamed mara microbet ? ten alla Mariam mi bacher" [Mahammad ma-ra mikushad, ibn Allah Maryam milsishaid, Pers.], which is, "Mahomet gives me death, and the Son of God [and Mary] will [are necessary to] save me." He had scarcely finished these words, when the executioner threw him to the earth and cut off his head. Such was the termination of the life of a Prince in whose character was blended such a mixture of virtues and defects as to reader him more capable of taking the lead as a Mogol noble, than fit him for controlling the Empire. He died on the 23d of October in the year 1637 [tic], lamented by the people, and regretted even by those who had abandoned and betrayed him."

It is probable that 1657 is a misprint for 1659. Kháfi Khán states that it was in September 1659 that the order was given for his execution, 'under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity.' The judicial murder may thus have been perpetrated on the rad October sa stated by Manouchi; on this point, however, there are many conflicting statements. See the late Professor Blochmann's paper on The Capture and Death of Dard Shideh, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, pp. 274-279, vol. xxxix., 1870.

I Tavernier says, "In the meantime Sepenie Streno was drawn eside, and, whilst they amused him, a slave cut off DARA SHAR's head."- Travels, vol. I. p. 354-

that it was indeed the head of Dara, he shed tears, and said, Ah [Ai] Bed-bald! Ah wretched one! let this shocking sight no more offend my eyes, but take away the head, and let it be buried in Houmayon's tomb.

Dara's daughter was taken that same evening to the seraglio, but afterwards sent to Chah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb; who begged of Aureng Zebe to commit the young Princess to their care. Dara's wife, foreseeing the calamities which awaited her and her husband, had already put a period to her existence, by swallowing poison at Lahor.² Sepe-Chekouh was immured in the

1 Catrou (Manouchi) tells us that when Dara's head was brought to Aurangech, 'he examined it with an air of satisfaction; he touched it with the point of his aword; he opened the closed eyes to observe a speck, that he might be convinced that another head had not been substituted in the place of the one he had ordered to be struck off." Afterwards, following the counsel of Rausban Ará Begum, he caused it to be embaimed and conveyed to Shah Iahan and enclosed in a low, to be offered to him in the name of Auranguels. Before the box was opened the old Emperor said, 'It is at least a consolation for an unhappy father to find that the number has not wholly forgotten me," but when the packet was opened, and he beheld 'the head of the son so tenderly beloved, the good old man fell into a swoon. The Princess Begom Saeb, always faithful to the cause of Dars, made the air resound with her cries. Nothing, indeed, could be more affecting than the melancholy and despair excited by so tragical a spectacle in the prison of Agea."

* It is stated by Kháff Khán, that Dárá's wife, Nádira Begum, died when with her husband in Malik Jiwah's territory, and that her body was sent to Lahore to be buried. * When Dárá reached the land of this evil samindir, Malik Jiwan came out like the destroying angel to meet him. As a goest-nourdering host he conducted Dárá home, and exerted himself to entertain him. During the two or three days that Dárá remained hers, his wife Nádira Begus, daughter of Parwer (Sultan Parwer his uncle, second son of the Emperor Jahángir. Dárá was matried to Nádira in 1633, when he was twenty years of age, and she was the mother of Sulaimán Shikoh and Sipihr Shikoh], died of dysentery and vexation. Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dárá, grief was added to grief, sorrow to strow, an that his mind on langer retained its equilibrium. Without considering the consequences [the deceased had left a will destring to be buried in Hindostan—'elizugir-minas], he amt her corpae to

fortress of Guialcor; and soon after these tragical events Gion-han was summoned before the council, and then diamissed from Dehli with a few presents. He did not escape the fate, however, which he merited, being way-laid and assassinated in a forest, within a few leagues of his own territory. This barbarian had not sufficiently reflected, that though tyrants appear to countenance the blackest crimes while they conduce to their interest, or promote a favourite object, they yet hold the perpetrators in abhorrence, and will not scruple to punish them when they can no longer be rendered subservient to any intentions project.

In the mean time, the brave governor of Tata-bakar was compelled to surrender the place, an order for its immediate surrender, exacted from Dara himself, having been sent to the faithful cannich; who insisted, however, on honourable terms of capitulation. The perfidious enemy, intending to violate every promise, readily assented to the conditions proposed, and Mir-Baba was

admitted into the town.

The governor proceeded to Lahor, where he and the feeble remains of his intrepid garrison were miserably slaughtered by Kalil-ullah-kan, who commanded in that eity. The reason for this atrocious act was, that although the cannot professed his intention of visiting the King at Dehli, to gratify the desire expressed by Aureng-Zebe to converse with so brave a soldier, yet he really meditated a rapid march to Serenaguer, with all his followers, for the purpose of making common cause with Soliman-Chekuah. Among these followers (many of whom were Franks) he distributed money with a liberal hand.

Of Dara's family, there now remained only Soliman-Chekouh, whom it would not have been easy to draw from

Labore in charge of Gul Muhammad to be buried there. He thus parted from one who had been faithful to him through his darkest modiles.' Sir H. M. Elliot's Hillery, vol. vii. p. 244. See p. 69, note, for Tavernier's account.

Screnaguer, if the Raja had been faithful to his engagements. But the intrigues of Jesseingue, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zebe, the death of Dara, and the hostile preparations of the neighbouring Rajas, shook the resolution of this pusillanimous protector. Soliman-Chekouh felt that he was no longer in safety, and endeavoured to reach Great Tibet. His route lay across the most dreary country, consisting of nothing but sterile and mountainous tracts. He was pursued by the Raja's son, overtaken and wounded; and being conveyed to Dehli, was shut up in Selim-guer, the fortress in which Mond-Bakohe was imprisoned.

Aureng-Zebe acted upon this occasion as he had done in the case of Dara. That Soliman-Chekouh's identity might be established, the King commanded that he should be brought into the presence of all the courtiers. I could not repress my curiosity, and witnessed the whole of this dismal scene. The fetters were taken from the Prince's feet before he entered the chamber wherein the Omraka were assembled, but the chains, which were gilt, remained about his hands. Many of the courtiers shed tears at the sight of this interesting young man, who was tall and extremely handsome. The principal ladies of the court

The territory now known as Ladákh. See p. 69-

³ When Issae Compenus, king of Cyprus, surrendered to Kichard t. Cour de Lion, king of England, in May 1191, he begged that he might not be fettered with chann of iron. Richard accordingly ordered that his chains should be of silver in consideration of his royal birth. In the words of John Brompton, the compiler of old chronicles, who, in this instance, is confirmed by historians of accepted authority, Et eum in mann et potestate regis omnie jam eezent à rege solum petite, ne in compedibus et manicis ferreis permitteret eum poni . . . Rex vero petitionem ejut audient ait. Quia nobilis est et nalumus eum meri, sed at vivat innexius, cathenis argenteis astringatur. Col. 1200. Catron tells us that the 'fetters and handcuits' with which Murail Bakhsh was secured (p.68) were of silver, and that his brother (Aurangzeb) had caused them to be made a long time previously. and which he often showed to his son Mahamud, to keep him to his duty. As for the enough [Shahbair], he was accured without difficulty and loaded with iron fetters."

had permission to be present, concealed behind a latticework, and were also greatly moved. Aureny-Zebe, too, affected to deplore the fate of his nephew, and spoke to him with apparent kindness. 'Be comforted,' the King told him; 'no harm shall befall you. You shall be treated with tenderness. God is great, and you should put your trust in him. Dara, your father, was not permitted to live only because he had become a Kafer, a man devoid of all religion.' Whereupon the Prince made the salaam, or sign of grateful acknowledgment, lowering his hands to the ground, and lifting them, as well as he was able, to his head, according to the custom of the country. He then told the King, with much self-possession, that if it were intended to give him the point to drink, he begged he might be immediately put to death. Aureng-Zebe promised in a solemn manner, and in a loud voice, that this drink should most certainly not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy. The Prince was then required to make a second salaam; and when a few questions had been put to him, by the King's desire, concerning the elephant laden with golden roupies, which had been taken from him during his retreat to Screnaguer, he was taken out of the chamber, and conducted on the following day to Goualcor, with the others.

This poust is nothing but poppy-heads crushed, and allowed to soak for a night in water. This is the potion generally given to Princes confined in the fortress of Goulalcor, whose heads the Monarch is deterred by prudential reasons from taking off. A large cup of this

I Johannes de Laet, at p. 40 of his book De Imperio Magni Megalis, ries India Vera, Lagd. Bat. Elsevic, 1631 (first issue), gives an interesting description of the Mogul state prisons in Hindostan. In his account of the fort at Gwalior, he says a "Above the fourth and highest gate stands the figure of an elsephant skillolly out out of stone. [This is the well-known Hathipul, or "Elephant's Gateway," and de Lact also describes, in a previous passage, the vast staircase leading to it, so familiar to all visitors to this celebrated fortress.] This gate is most samptuously built of green and blue stone; on the top are

beverage is brought to them early in the morning, and they are not given anything to cat until it be swallowed; they would sooner let the prisoner die of hunger. This drink emaciates the wretched victims; who lose their strength and intellect by slow degrees, become torpid and senseless, and at length die. It is said that it was by this means, that Sepe-Chekouh, the grandchild of Morad-Bakche and Soliman-Chekouh, were sent out of the world.

Morad-Bakche was put to death in a more violent and open manner. Though in prison, he was yet very popular, and verses were continually composed in praise of his courage and conduct. Aureng-Zebe, therefore, did not deem it safe to make away with him in secret, by the point as the others were; fearing that there would always

several gilded turrets that shine brilliantly. Here the Governor of the place dwells; and here also State prisoners are confined. The King is said to have three prisons of this kind. The second is at Rantipore [Ranthambhor or Rintimbur, the picturesque ancient rock-foctress in the Jeypore State, formerly a stronghold of the Raja of Bandi who transferred it to the Emperor Akbarl, forty coss from this place, whither the King sends those whom he has condemned to death. They are for the most part kept here for two months, after which the Governor brings them out, places them on the top of the wall, and having caused them to drink some milk, casts them down headlong on the rocks beneath. [Prasfectus arcis cos producit, et in fastigio muri constitutos et lacte potates, praesipites agit in subjectus rupes, thus in the original. The "milk" being a decoction of the milky juice of the poppy given to the prisoners to render them insensible. The famil, a slow polson (pústa, from edst, a poppy, also called kaendr, which, like some of the preparations of madains, sold in the opium dens of Lucknow, had the effect of emnelating those who partook of it by taking away an appetite for solid food) of Bernier's description being reserved for members of the Royal family, as being a more secret death, free from the outward signs of laying violent hands upon one of the Blood Royal. See in this connection pp. 07, 100, and 180]. The third prison fortress is in the fort of Rotas [Rohtásgurh, about 30 miles south of the town of Sasseram, in Bengal, overlooking the junction of the Koel and Soone tivers, an ancient site, the top of the plateau, on which the remains of the fort stand, being 1400 feet above the level of the adjacent country], in the province of Bengal, whither are sent those who are condemned to imprisonment for life; they very seldom manage to escape,"

be some doubt whether he had been really put to death or not, and that this uncertainty might some day be used as a pretext for an uprising, the following charge, they

say, was brought up against him.

At the period when Morad-Bakche was making extensive preparations for war, in his government of Gazarate, he put to death a certain Sayed at Amed-Ahad, that he might obtain possession of his great wealth. The children of the murdered Sayed now presented themselves in open court, calling loudly for justice, and demanding the head of Morad-Bakche. No Omrah would venture to reprove or silence this procedure; both because the person whose innocent blood bad been shed was a Sayed, or descendant of the prophet Mahamet, to whom unbounded veneration is due, and because it could not but be evident to every person that this was a mode designed by the King to rid himself of a dangerous rival under the cloak of justice. The demand of the sons I was granted, and without any other form of process, an order for the head of the murderer was given, with which they immediately renaired to Gollaleor.

There now existed only one member of his family who created anxiety or apprehension in the mind of Aureng-Zebe, and this was Sultan Sujah. Hitherto he had displayed much resolution and vigour, but now felt the necessity of yielding to the power and fortune of his

I Khán's (who states that his father was one of Murád Bakhah's confidential servants) account of this mock trial does not quite agree with Bernier's. He says that the eldest son refused to demand satisfaction for his father's death, but that the second son compiled with the expressed wish of some of the Emperor's friends, viz., that the two some of All Nákl, whom Morid Bakhah had put to death, should bring a charge of nurder against him. Also that after the death of Murád Bakhah, Aurangzeb rewarded the eldest son for not entre of Murád Bakhah, Aurangzeb rewarded the eldest son for not softening his claim of blood. Carron states that Aurangzeb compassed his brother's death by ordering some soldiers of his guard to proceed to Gwallor, and there ating him ' by one of those adders whose poison is quick and mortal.'

brother. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Emir-Jemia, until the Prince, encompassed on all sides, was compelled to fly for his personal safety to Daké, which is the last town in Bengale, on the borders of the sea; and this ends the whole tragedy.

The Prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly for refuge, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the King of Racan, or Mogra a Gentile or idolater, to ascertain If he would grant him a temporary asylum, and a passage to Moka, when the favourable season arrived: a it being his wish to proceed thence in Meca, and afterward take up his residence in Turkey or Persia. The King's answer was in the affirmative, and expressed in the kindest terms. Sultan Banque returned to Daké with a large number of galeasses (as they call the half galleys of this King) manned by Franks, for so I would designate those fugitive Partuguese, and other wandering Christians, who had entered into the King's service, and whose chief occupation was to ravage this part of Lower Bengale. On board these vessels, Sultan Sujah embarked with his family, consisting of his wife, his three sons and his daughters. The King [of Arakan] gave them a tolerable reception, and supplied them with every necessary of life. Month after month passed; the favourable season arrived, but no mention was made of vessels to convey them to Moka, although Sultan Sujah required them on no other terms than the payment of the hire; for he vet wanted not rougies of gold and silver, or gems. He had indeed too great a plenty of them : his great wealth

Dacca, on the Euriganga river, formerly the main atream of the Ganges.

² Arakan or Magh, the Robbing of Khaff Khan.

³ La moisson du vent' in the original. Moisson is for the Arabic word mauries, a season, which the Portuguese corrupted into mongas: our mensous, the French mentres.

^{*} From the early Portuguese word geines, which was the name for a kind of half-decked craft used on the aboves of the Red Seo, called in Arabic police, from which is derived our English word pally-boar.

being probably the cause of, or at least very much contributing to, his ruin. These barbarous kings are devoid of true generosity, and little restrained by any promises which they have made. Seldom guided by considerations of good faith, their present interest is the sole guide of their conduct, and they appear insensible of the mischief which may accrue to themselves from their perfidiousness and cruelty. To escape out of their hands, either you must have nothing to tempt their avarice, or you must be possessed of superior strength. It was in vain that Sultan Sujah evinced the atmost solicitude to depart for Moka; the King turned a deaf ear to his entreaties; became cool and uncivil, and reproached the Prince for not visiting him. I know not whether Sultan Sujah considered it beneath his dignity to associate with him, or whether he apprehended that his person would be selzed, and his treasure plandered, if he ventured into the palace. Emir-Jenla had offered the King, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, large sums of money, and other considerable advantages, on condition of his delivering up the Prince. Though Sultan Sujuh would not himself venture into the royal residence, yet he sent his son, Sultan Banque, who, as he approached the palace, bestowed largesse to the people, throwing among them half roupies, and also whole roupies, both of gold and silver; and, when he came before the King, presented him with various rich brocades and rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value; and apologising for the unavoidable absence of his father, who was indisposed, entreated the King to remember the vessel and the promise which he had made.

This visit proved as unavailing as every preceding effort to induce the harbarian to fulfil his engagements; and to add to the mortification and perplexity of the illustrious fugitive, the King, five or six days after this interview, made a formal demand of one of his daughters in marriage. Sultan Sujah's refusal to accede to this request exasperated him to such a degree that the Prince's situation became quite desperate. What then ought he to do? To remain inactive was only quietly to await destruction. The season for departure was passing away; it was therefore necessary to come to a decision of some kind. He meditated, at length, an enterprise which never was exceeded in extravagance, and which proves the hopelessness of the situation to which he was reduced.

Although the King of Rakan be a Gentile, yet there are many Mahometans mixed with the people, who have either chosen to retire among them, or have been enslaved by the Portuguese before mentioned, in their expeditions to the neighbouring coasts. Sultan Sujuh secretly gained over these Mahometana, whom he joined with two or three hundred of his own people, the remnant of those who followed him from Bengale; and with this force resolved to surprise the house of the King, put his family to the sword, and make himself sovereign of the country. This hold attempt, which resembled more the enterprise of a desperado than that of a prudent man, had nevertheless a certain feasibility in it, as I was informed by several Mahometans, Portuguese, and Hollanders, who were then on the spot. But the day before the blow was to be struck, a discovery was made of the design, which altogether rained the affairs of Sullan Sujah, and involved in it the destruction of his family.

The Prince endeavoured to escape into Pega; a purpose searcely possible to be effected, by reason of the vast mountains and forests that lay in the route; for there is not now, as formerly, a regular road in that direction. He was pursued and overtaken, within twenty-four hours after his flight: he defended himself with an obstinacy of courage such as might have been expected, and the number of barbarians that fell under his sword was incredible; but at length, overpowered by the increasing host of his assailants, he was compelled to give up the unequal combat. Sultan Banque, who had not advanced

so far as his father, fought also like a lion, until covered with the blood of the wounds be received from the stones that had been showered upon him from all sides, he was seized, and carried away, with his two young brothers, his sisters, and his mother.

No other particulars, on which much dependence may be placed, are known of Sultan Sujah. It is said that he reached the hills, accompanied by an cumuch, a woman, and two other persons; that he received a wound on the head from a stone, which brought him to the ground; that the cumuch having boand up the Prince's head with his own turban he arose again, and escaped into the woods.

I have heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the Prince, from those even who were on the spot. Some assured me that he was found among the slain, though it was difficult to recognise his body; and I have seen a letter from a person at the head of the Factory which the Hollanders maintain in that region, mentioning the same thing. Great uncertainty prevails, however, upon the subject, which is the reason why we have had so many alarming rumours at Dehli. It was reported, at one time, that he was arrived at Massipatam, and that

Masalipatam, the modern rendering of the vernacular name Machhli-patnam or 'Fish Town,' the generally received etymology of the name, which, however, Colonel Yule considered erroneous. That distinguished historical-geographet held that the coast was the Massilia of the Greek geographers, and believed the name to be a celle of that word. Revaler's version of the name seems to me to support Colonel Yule's contention. It may, however, he latended for 'Machipatam,' a local, elipped, colloquial way of pronouncing the name : similar to "Machhiphahr" for Machhlishahr, a town in the faunour District of the North-Western Provinces which is a modern name, meaning 'City of Fishes,' given to it owing to its liability to floods in the rainy season, its assignt name being Chicari. The Dutch established a factory at Masulipatam about 1615, the English in 1622, the French in 1669, and the site of their factory, a patch of ground about three hundred yards square, is still claimed by France. Sterne's 'Eliza' was at one time a resident at Masulipatam, where her

the Kings of Golkanda and Visupour engaged to support his cause with all their forces. It was confidently said. at another period, that he had passed within sight of Sourate, with two ships flying red colours, with which he had been presented either by the King of Pegu or of Siam. Again, we were told that the Prince was in Persia; that he had been seen in Schiras, and soon afterwards in Kundahar, ready to invade the kingdom of Caboul, Aureng-Zebe once observed, perhaps by way of joke, that Sultan Sujah was become at last an Agy1 or pilgrim; insinuating that he had visited Meca; and even at this day, there are a great many persons fully persuaded that he is returned to Persia from Constantinople, having obtained large supplies of money in that city. But in my opinion there never existed ground for any of these reports. I attach great importance to the letter from the Dutch gentleman, which states that the Prince was killed in his attempt to escape; and one of Sultan Sujah's cunuchs, with whom I travelled from Bengale to Massipalam, and his former commandant of artillery, now in the service of the King of Golkonda, both assured me that their master was dead, although they were reluctant to communicate any further information. The French merchants whom I saw at Dehli, and who came direct from Ispahan, had never heard a syllable of Sultan Sujah's being in Persia. It seems

husband Mr. Daniel Draper was stationed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, and 'Eliza's Tree' was to be seen there, until it was unfortunately washed away in the cyclone of 1864. See Reunid about Rambay, by James Douglas, and Sir George Birdwood's article, illustrated, in The Journal of Indian Art, for January 1891, entitled 'Eliza Draper's Letter.'

1 For Hajji, the incorrect form used by Turks and Persians of the

Arabic word IIIii, a pilgrim to Mecca.

Although Bernier does not mention his name, I believe one of the French merchants to have been Tavernier, who had left Ispahan on the 24th February 1665, and travelling wid Bandar Abhas reached Surat on the 5th May. He remained in Surat for some time, and travelling most probably by Burbinpur, Gwalior, and Agra, reached Jahánábád (Delhi) in September, where he halted for a few weeks. On also that his sword and dagger were found soon after his defeat: and if he reached the woods, as some people pretend, it can searcely be hoped that he escaped; as it is probable he must have fallen into the hands of robbers, or have become a prey to the tigers or elephants which very greatly infeat the forests of that country.

But whatever doubts may be entertained of the fate of Sultan Sujah, there are none as to the catastrophe which befell his family.1 When brought back, men, women, and children were all thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost harshness. Some time after, however, they were set at liberty, and used more kindly: the King then married the eldest Princess, and the Queen-mother evinced a strong desire to be united to Sultan Banque.

While these events were happening, some servants of Sultan Banque joined the Mahometans, of whom I have spoken, in a plot similar to the last. The indiscreet zeal of one of the conspirators, who was probably heated with wine, led to the discovery of the design on the day on which it was to be executed. In regard to this affair, too, I have heard a thousand different tales; and the only fact I can relate with confidence is, that the King felt so exasperated against the family of Sujah as to give orders for its total extermination. Even the Princess whom he had himself espoused, and who, it is sald, was advanced in

the 10th November he was shown the Emperor's jewels, including the great Mogul diamond (see p. 22, footnote 1). Shorily afterwards he left for Agra, and on the 25th November 1665 he, in company with Bernier, started for Bengal. Tavernier had with him a young nephew, son of his brother Maurice Tavernier, four attendants of different professions, and a surgeon.-Travels, Introduction to vol. i. and generally (transl. V. Ball, 1886).

Catrou states that 'the subjects of the King of Arracan invested on all sides the palace in which the Mogol Prince was residing. The unfortunate Cha-chaia found no longer any security but was compelled to fly to the forests. He made his escape to their depths, but these tigers pursued him; and after baving massacred, without pity, his wives and his children, they deprived him of life on the 7th of February in

the year 1658."

pregnancy, was sacrificed according to his brotal mandate. Sultan Banque and his brothers were decapitated with gruesome-looking axes, quite blunt, and the female members of this ill-fated family ware closely confined in their apartments, and left to die of hunger.

In this manner terminated the war which the lust of domination had kindled among these four brothers. It lasted between five and six years; that is to say, from about the year 1655 to the year 1660 or 1661; and it left Aureng-Zebe the undisputed master of this mighty Empire.

¹ Avec de matheureuses haches toutes émousées in the original, probably intended to denote the well-known das or hill-knife, which has a blade about eighteen inches long, narrow at the haft, square and broad at the top, pointless and sharpened on one side only, set in a handle of wood, a bamboo root being considered the best; a common weapon at the present day among the Arakan hill tribes, and others on the north-east frontier of India.



R E M A R K A B L E occurrences

Or an account of the most important events after the war during five years or thereby, in the States of the Great Mogol.

HE war being ended, the Tarlars of Usbee eagerly despatched ambassadors to Aureng-Zebe. These people had been witnesses of his conduct and valour in many battles, when in command of the corps which Chah-Jehan sent to the assistance of the Kan of Samarcande, then engaged in hostilities with him of Balk; and they had reason to apprehend that Aureng-Zebe did not forget the treachery of which they had been guilty when he was on the point of capturing Balk, the capital city of the enemy. Upon that occasion, the two Kans made up their differences, and united in one common effort to drive him back, lest he should seize upon both their territories, in the same manner as Ekbar had obtained possession of the kingdom of Kachemire. The Usbec Tarlars were not ignorant of the occurrences which had taken place in Hindoustan, of the victories gained by Aureny-Zebe, and of the total discomfiture and death of the other competitors for the crown. They were aware that although Chuk-Jehun still lived, yet his son was, in reality, the recognised and established King of the Indies. Whether, then, they dreaded his just resentment, or hoped, in their inbred avarice and sordidness, to obtain some considerable present, the two Kans sent ambassadors, with a proffer of their services, and with injunctions to perform the ceremony of the Mobarek: that is, to express in a solemn manner their wishes that his reign might be long and auspicious. Aureng-Zebe knew how to value an offer of service made at the conclusion of a war: he knew the fear of punishment, or the expectation of advantage, had induced the Kans to send their ambassadors. They were received, however, with due form and polite-



Fig. 6.-The Emperor Alamgir (Aurangreb).

ness, and as I happened to be present at the audience, I can relate the particulars with accuracy.

The ambassadors, when at a distance, made the Salam, or Indian act of obeisance, placing the hand thrice upon the head, and as often dropping it down to the ground. They then approached so near that Aureng-Zebe might easily have taken the letters from their own hands; but this ceremony was performed by an Omrah: the letters

were received and opened by him, and then presented to the King, who, after having perused the contents with a grave countenance, commanded that there should be given to each of the ambassadors a Scr-apah or vesture from head to foot; namely, a vest of brocade, a turban, and a sesh or girdle, of embroidered silk. This done, the presents from the Kans were brought before the King, consisting of some boxes of Lapis-lazuli or the choicest Acure¹; a few long-haired camels; several horses of great beauty, although the Tartar horses are generally something better than merely beautiful: some camel-loads of fresh fruit, such as apples, pears, grapes, and melons; Usbee being the country which principally supplies Dehli with these fruits, which are there eaten all the winter, and many loads of dry fruit, as Bolara prunes, apricots,

Used, pounded up, by the calligraphers of Persia, Kashmir, and Delhi as the basis for that 'axure blue' colour, in their choice illuminated MSS., which is unsurpassable, and cannot even be approached by any modern artificial chemical substitute. Lapis-laroli was largely used in the pietra dura work in the Taj; and these Tartar ambassailors may have been bringing some of it as a tribute or offering to the Mogul Court for this very purpose. This tomb, although finished in 1628 as far as the more structure is concerned, was probably worked at for many years afterwards ('built by Titans, finished by jewellers'), as much of the exquisite detail of its decorations could not have been carried out in any other way. In a translation of a Persian Ms., published at Lahore in 1869, at the Victoria Press, by Areezoodeen, giving an account of the building of the Taj. particulars are given of the source of supply and cost of the various stones used. In this account lapis-leculi is said to have been brought from Ceylon, but I believe that this mineral is never found there. We are also informed that 'most of these [stones] were received in lies of tribute from different nations under the Emperor's rule, or were made presents voluntarily, or otherwise, by the different Rajahs and Nawabs."

4 The fine up-standing Turkoman horse of the everyday Calcutta horse dealers' sale-catalogues. Morrorott's journey to Tibet, in 1819, was chiefly undertaken with the object of obtaining Turkoman horses of the choicest breed, which it was his great ambition to domesticate in India.

^a The Ahl Bobharus imported largely into India at the present day, and most excellent simply stewed, or in a test.

kichmiches, or raisins, apparently without stones, and two other kinds of raisins, black and white, extremely large and delicious.

Aureng-Zebe expressed himself well pleased with the liberality of the Kans; extolling in exaggerated strains the beauty and rareness of the fruits, horses, and camels; and when he had spoken a few words on the fertility of their country, and asked two or three questions concerning the College at Samarcande, he desired the ambassadors to go and repose themselves, intimating that he should be happy to see them often.

They came away from the audience delighted with their reception, without any feeling of mortification on account of the salam à l'Indien, which certainly savours of servility, and not at all displeased that the King had refused to receive the letters from their own hands. If they had been required to kiss the ground, or to perform any act of still deeper humiliation, I verily believe they would have complied without a murmur. It should indeed be observed that it would have been unreasonable to insist upon saluting Aureng-Zebe according to the custom of their own

⁴ Kishmith, the stoneless misins of the modern dried-fruit sellers.

² The present city of Samarkand, at one time the capital of Timur, is but a wreck of its former self, but time brings round strange changes, and this Holy city may have a renascence. 'The central part of Samarkand is the Righistan, a square limited by the three madrama's (colleges) of Utng-beg, Shir-dar, and Tilla-kari; in its architectural symmetry and beauty this is rivalled only by some of the squares of Italian cities. . . . The college of Shir-dar (built in 1601) takes its name from the two lines, or rather tigers, figured on the top of its doorway, which is righly decorated with green, blue, red, and white enumelled bricks. It is the most spacious of the three, and t28 Mollahs inhabit its sixty-four apartments. The Tilla-kari t'dressed in gold') built in 1615, has fifty-six rooms. But the most renowaed of the three madmaahs is that of Ulug-beg, built in 1420 or 1454, by Timur, the grandson of the great conqueror. It is smaller than the others, but it was to its school of mathematics and astronomy that Samarkand owed its wide renown in the niteenth century.' P. A. K. (ROPOTKINE), Energ. Beil. ninth ed. 1880.

country, or to expect that the letters would be delivered without the intervention of an Omnah: these privileges belong exclusively to Persian ambassadors; nor are they granted, even to them, without much hesitation and

difficulty.

These people remained more than four mouths at Dehli, notwithstanding all their endeavours to obtain their congr. This long detention proved extremely injurious to their health; they and their suite sickened, and many of them died. It is doubtful whether they suffered more from the heat of Hindoustan, to which they are unaccustomed, or from the filthiness of their persons, and the insufficiency of their diet. There are probably no people more narrowminded, sordid, or uncleanly, than the Usbec Tartura. The individuals who composed this embassy hoarded the money allowed them by Aureny-Zebe for their expenses, and lived on a miserable pittance, in a style quite unsultable to their station. Yet they were dismissed with great form and parade. The King, in the presence of all his Omrahs, invested each of them with two rich Serapahs, and commanded that eight thousand roupies should be carried to their respective houses. He also sent by them, as presents to the two Kans, their masters, very handsome Scrapahs, a large number of the richest and most exquisitely wrought broundes, a quantity of fine linens, alachar,1 or silk stuffs

Generally in pieces about five yards long, with a wavy line pattern maning in the length on either side. The name cichah or adichah, was also applied to any corded staff. At p. 135 the markings of a sebra are compared to this fabric. Sivaji, the Mahratta chief, in the portrait (Fig. 8), which was taken from life evidently by a Datch artist, reproduced at p. 187 of this book, is therein depicted as clothed in alchah. In the words of Valentyn, 'we represent this Signior . . from life, arrayed in a golden alcha, as well as a turbon on his bead '(Wy vertoonen dien Heer . . . no't leven, met een goude Alegia bekierd, on met roo cen tulbant op't hook!.—Bercheying, p. 265). In this puresit the pattern of the fabric is well shown; and it was from authentic pictures such as these, the work of Indian artists as a rule, that our manufacturers, and those of other nations, took their first Oriental designs.

interwoven with gold and silver, a few carpets, and two daggers set with precious stones.

During their stay I paid them three visits, having been introduced as a physician by one of my friends, the son of an Usbec, who has amassed a fortune at this court. It was my design to collect such useful particulars concerning their country as they might be able to supply, but I found them ignorant beyond all conception. They were unacquainted even with the boundaries of Usbec, and could give no information respecting the Tartars who a few years ago subjugated China.1 In short, I could elicit by my conversation with the ambassadors scarcely one new fact. Once I was desirous of dining with them, and as they were persons of very little ceremony, I did not find it difficult to be admitted at their table. The meal appeared to me very strange; it consisted only of horseflesh. I contrived, however, to dine. There was a ragout which I thought eatable, and I should have considered myself guilty of a breach of good manners if I had not praised a dish so pleasing to their palate. Not a word was uttered during dinner; my elegant hosts were fully employed in cramming their mouths with as much pelau2 as they could contain; for with the use of spoons these people are unacquainted. But when their

¹ The first Tartar (correctly Tatar) partial conquest of China was in about 1100. The invaders were expelled, but reconquered China in 1644, when Shun-chee, or, as it is sometimes written, Chun-chee, was declared Emperor. It is to this conquest that Bernier here refers, the Manchoo Tartar dynasty then established continuing until 1912.

² A corruption of the Persian word pildo, that favourite dish among the Muhammadans in the East. Ovington, in A Voyage to Suratt, in the Year 1689. p. 397 (Lond. 1696), tells us that 'Palau, that is, Rice boiled so artificially, that every grain lies singly without being added together, with Spices intermixt, and a boil'd Fowl in the middle, is the most common Indian Dish; and a dumpoked Fowl, that is, boil'd with butter in any small Vessel, and stuft with Raisons and Almonds, is another.' 'Dumpoked' is meant for dampukht, from the Persian, meaning 'steam-cooked.' For achieving a dampukht fowl to perfection, a bain-marie pan must be used.

stomachs were sated with the dainty repast, they recovered their speech, and would fain have persuaded me that the Usbecr surpass all other men in bodily strength, and that no nation equals them in the dexterous management of the bow. This observation was no sooner made than they called for bows and arrows, which were of a much larger size than those of Hindoustan, and offered to lay a wager that they would pierce an ox or a horse through and through. They proceeded to extol the strength and valour of their country-women, in comparison with whom the Amazons were soft and timorous, The tales they related of female feats were endless: one especially excited my wonder and admiration; would that I could relate it with genuine Turtar eloquence. It seems that when Aureng-Zebe was prosecuting the war in their country, a party of five-andtwenty or thirty horsemen entered a small village; and while employed in pillaging the houses, and binding the inhabitants, whom they intended to carry away as slaves, a good old woman said to them : 'Children, listen to my counsel, and cease to act in this mischievous manner. My daughter happens just now to be absent, but she will soon return. Withdraw from this place, if you are prudent; should she light upon you, you are undone.' They made contemptuous sport of the good lady, continuing to plander the property, and to secure the persons, of individuals, until, having fully laden their beasts, they quitted the village, taking with them many of the inhabitants and the old woman herself. They had not gone half a league, however, before the aged mother, who never ceased to look behind, cried out in an eestasy of joy, 'My daughter! My daughter!' Her person was indeed hid from view; but the extraordinary clouds of dust, and the loud trampling of a horse, left no doubt on the mind of the anxious parent, that her heroic child was at hand to rescue her and her friends from the power of their cruel enemies. Presently the Tartar maiden was

seen mounted on a flery steed, a bow and quiver hanging at her side; and, while yet at a considerable distance, she cried out that she was still willing to spare their lives, on condition that they restored the plunder, released their captives, and retired peaceably to their own country. The Mogols turned as deaf an ear to the words of the young heroine as to the entreaties of her aged parent; but were astonished when they saw her in a moment let fly three or four arrows, which brought to the ground the same number of men. They had instant recourse to their own bows, but the damsel was much beyond the reach of their arrows, and laughed at such impotent efforts to avenge the death of their companions. She continued to perform dreadful execution among them, with an accuracy of aim, and strength of arm, which was quite different to theirs; until having killed half of their number with arrows, she fell sword in hand upon the remainder, and cut them in pieces.1

The ambassadors from Tartary were still in Dehli, when Aureny-Zebe was seized with a dangerous iliness. He was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue became so palsied that he could searcely articulate. The physicians despaired of his recovery, and it was generally believed he was dead, though the event was concealed by Rauchenara-Begum from interested motives. It was even rumoured that the Raja Jessomseingue, governor of Guzarate, was advancing to release Chah-Jehan from

The date of this illness varies in the various annals of the time, The correct date is May-August 1662 (Irvine, Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 76).

¹ In the Dutch edition of Bernier, Amsterdam, 1672, at p. 10 of the section, **Remarkable Occurrences* (Bysondere Uytkomsten), there is a very quaint illustration to this passage. A copperplate engraving after a mere fancy sketch, in which the Tartar maiden is shown as dealing great execution among the ranks of the Mogula, their arrows falling short of her, a burning village indicated in the lackground. The consternation among the Mogula is very cleverly depicted, and the action of the Amazon's horse charging down on their ranks is exceedingly well expressed. See Hibliography, entry No. 5.

captivity; that Mohabet-kan, who had at length acknowledged Aureny-Zebe's authority, had quitted the government of Kaboul, passed already through Lahar, and was rapidly marching on Agra, at the head of three or four thousand horse, with the same intention; and that the ennuch Etbar-kan, under whose custody the aged monarch was placed, felt impatient for the honour of opening the door of his prison.

On the one hand. Sultan Mazum intrigued with the Omrahs, and endeavoured by bribes and promises to attach them to his interest. He even went one night in disguise to the Baja Jesseingse, and entreated him, in the most respectful and humble language, to declare in his favour. On the other hand, a party formed by Rauchenara-Begum was supported by several Omrahs and Feday-kan, grand master of the artillery, in behalf of the young Prince, Sultan Ekbar, the third son of Aureng-Zebe, a boy only seven

or eight years of age.

It was pretended by both these parties, and believed by the people, that the sole object they had in view was to set Chah-Jehan at liberty; but this was merely for the sake of gaining popularity, and to save appearances, in case he should be liberated by Ethar, or by means of any secret intrigues on the part of other grandces. There was in fact searcely a person of rank or influence who entertained the wish of seeing Chah-Jehan restored to the throne. With the exception, perhaps, of Jessomseingue, Mohabet-kan, and a few others who had hitherto refrained from acting flagrantly against him, there was no Omrah who had not basely abandoned the cause of the legitimate Monarch, and taken an active part in favour of Jureny-Zebe. They were aware that to open his prison door would be to unchain an enraged lion. The possibility of such an event appalled the courtiers, and no one dreaded

³ Faiai Khan, foster-brother to Aursaggeh. About 1676 be was honoured with the title of Aries Khan, and appointed Covernor of Bengal, where he died in 1678.

it more than Ethar, who had behaved to his wretched victim with unnecessary rudeness and severity.

But Aureng-Zebe, notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of government, and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sullan Mazum, in the event of his death, to release the King from confinement; but he was constantly dictating letters to Elbar-kan, urging him to the faithful and rigid discharge of his duty; and on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Omrahs, for the purpose of undeceiving those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing a public tumult, or any accident by which Chah-Jehan might effect his escape. The same reasons induced him to visit that assembly on the seventh, ninth, and tenth days; and, what appears almost incredible, on the thirteenth day. when scarcely recovered from a swoon so deep and long that his death was generally reported, he sent for the Raja Jesseingue, and two or three of the principal Omrahs, for the purpose of verifying his existence. He then desired the attendants to raise him in the bed; called for paper and ink that he might write to Elbar-kan, and despatched a messenger for the Great Seal, which was placed under Rauchenara-Begum's care enclosed in a small bag, which was impressed with a signet which he always kept fastened to his arm; 1 wishing to satisfy himself that the Princess had not made use of this instrument to promote any sinister design. I was present when my Agah became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, 'What strength of mind! What invincible

¹ I have seen contemporary portraits of the Mogul Emperors, the work of Indian artists, in which is shown this counter-seal (not to be confounded with an amulet, which would be worn on the left arm), fastened underneath the right armpit. An engraving from such a portrait 'which was taken from a picture of his, drawn to the life' will be found between folios 346-7 of Edward Terry's A l'oyage to East India. London, 1771; a reprint of the edition of 1655.

courage! Heaven reserve thee, Aureng-Zebe, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die.' And indeed after this fit the King improved gradually in health.

As soon as Aureng-Zebe became convalescent, he endeavoured to withdraw Dara's daughter from the hands of Chah-Jeban and Begum-Saheb, with the design of giving her in marriage to his third son, Sultan Ekbar. This is the son, whom, it is supposed, he intends for his successor, and such an alliance would strengthen Ekbar's authority and ensure his right to the throne. He is very young, but has several near and powerful relations at court, and being born of Chah-Navaze-kan's daughter, is descended from the ancient sovereigns of Ma[s]chate.\(^1\) The mothers of Sultan Makmond and Sultan Mazum were only Ragipontays, or daughters of Rajas; for although these Kings are Mahometans, they do not scruple to marry into heathen families, when such a measure may promote their interests, or when they may thus obtain a beautiful wife.\(^2\)

But Aureng-Zebe was frustrated in his intention. Chah-Jehan and Begum-Saheb rejected the proposition with disdain, and the young Princess herself manifested the atmost repugnance to the marriage. She remained inconsolable during many days from an apprehension that she might be forcibly taken away, declaring it was her

¹ See p. 73-

In the Ma arir-i'Alamgiri (Elliot, vol. vii. pp. 195, 196) it is stated that Muhammad Sultan the eldest, and Sultan Mu'azzam (he second son, were both by the same mother, Nawab Bai; also that the mother of Muhammad Kam Bakhah, the lifth and leat son, was Bai Udalpuri; a statement which, if correct, hardly bears out the truth of the boast of the Udalpur family, that their house never gave a daughter to the Megul recarna. Bernier has probably confused the eldest and the youngest son, although he correctly states that Aurangzeb had two Hindoo wives, daughters of Rajpura, or Rajpurals as he correctly calls them. Prince Mahammad Akbar was Aurangzeb's fearth son. His mother was a Muhammadan, the daughter of Shalmawaz Khan, and it was mainly on this account that Aurangzeb desired to make him his successor to the throne.

firm purpose to die by her own hand, rather than be united to the son of him who murdered her father.1

He was equally unsuccessful in his demand on Chah-Jehan for certain jewels, with which he was desirous of completing a piece of workmanship that he was adding to the celebrated throne, so universally the object of admiration.² The captive Monarch indignantly answered that Aureng-Zebe should be careful only to govern the kingdom with more wisdom and equity: he commanded him not to meddle with the throne; and declared that he would be no more plagued about these jewels, for that hammers were provided to beat them into powder the next time he should be importuned upon the subject.

The Hollanders would not be the last to present Aureng-Zebe with the Mohbaree. They determined to send an ambassador to him, and made choice of Monsieur Adrican." chief of their factory at Sourale. This individual possesses integrity, abilities, and sound judgment; and as he does not disdain the advice offered by the wise and experienced, it is not surprising that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his countrymen. Although in his general deportment Aureng-Zebe be remarkably high and unbending, affects the appearance of a zealous Mahometan, and consequently despises Franks or Christians, yet upon the occasion of this embassy, his behaviour was most courteous and condescending. He even expressed a desire that Monsieur Adrican, after that gentleman had performed the Indian ceremony of the Salaam, should approach and salute him à la Frank. The King, it is true, received the

^{1.} See p. 166.

² The celebrated 'Peacock Throne,' see p. 269, which Shith Jahan designed and caused to be usule.

³ Dirk van Adrichem, who was chief, or director, of the Dutch factory at Smar from 1662 to 1665. He succeeded in obtaining a "concession" (Firmann, of gunut-brief in the Dutch original), dated Delhi, 29th October 1662, from Aurangueb, which conferred valuable privileges upon the Dutch in Bengal and Orissa.—Valentyn, Buckeypring, p. 261.

letters through the medium of an Omrah, but this could not be considered a mark of disrespect, since he had done the same thing in regard to the letters brought by the Dabon ambassadors.

The preliminary observances being over, Aureng-Zebe intimated that the ambassador might produce his presents; at the same time investing him, and a few gentlemen in his suite, with a Ser-Apah of brocade. The presents consisted of a quantity of very fine broad cloths, searlet and green; some large looking-glasses; and several articles of Chinese and Japan workmanship; among which were a paleky and a Tack-racan, or travelling throne, of exquisite beauty, and much admired.

The Great Mogol is in the labit of detaining all ambassadors as long as can reasonably be done, from an idea that it is becoming his grandour and power, to receive the homage of foreigners, and to number them among the attendants of his court. Monsieur Adrican was not dismissed, therefore, so expeditiously as he wished, though much sooner than the ambassadors from Tarlary. His secretary died, and the other individuals in his retinue were falling sick, when Aureng-Zebe granted him permission to depart. On taking leave the King again presented him with a Ser-Apak of brocade for his own use, and another very rich one for the governor of Balavia, together with a dagger set with jewels; the whole accompanied by a very gracious letter.

The chief aim of the Hollanders in this embassy was to ingratiate themselves with the Mogol, and to impart to

¹ I possess contemporary pictures, of Mogul court-life, by Indian artists, in which Japanese hangings and Chinese vases are very correctly and artistically shown.

Takht-i rawdu, from takht, a seat or throne, and rawdu, the present participle of the verb raftan, to go, to move, to proceed. The takht-i rawdo was carried on men's shoulders, and was used by royalty alone. See p. 370.

³ Who was the chief of all the Dutch factories and possessions in the East Indies, the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies in fact.

him some knowledge of their nation, in order that a beneficial influence might thus be produced upon the minds of the governors of sea-ports, and other places, where they have established factories.1 They hoped that those governors would be restrained from offering insult, and obstructing their commerce, by the consideration that they belonged to a powerful State, that they could obtain immediate access to the King of the Indies to induce him to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances. They endeavoured also to impress the government with an opinion that their traffic with Hindoustan was most advantageous to that kingdom; exhibiting a long list of articles purchased by their countrymen, from which they showed that the gold and silver brought by them every year into the Indies amounted to a considerable sum: but they kept out of sight the amount of those precious metals extracted by their constant importations of copper, lead, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, pepper, aloes-wood, elephants, and other merchandise.2

It was about this period that one of the most distinguished Omrahs ventured to express to Aureng-Zebe his fears lest his incessant occupations should be productive of injury to his health, and even impair the soundness and vigour of his mind. The King, affecting not to hear, turned from his sage adviser, and advancing slowly toward another of the principal Omrahs, a man of good sense and literary acquirements, addressed him in the following terms. The speech was reported to me by the son of that Omrah, a young physician, and my intimate friend.

'There can surely be but one opinion among you learned men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if

¹ The farmán (lit. an order, a ' patent ' or commission) obtained by Dirk van Adrichem, see p. 127, footnote ³, is here very accurately summarised by Bernier.

² In this connection see Bernier's letter to Colbert, pp. 200 et seg.

necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that, in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him, I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some vizier: he seems not to consider that, being born the son of a King, and placed on a throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State. This man cannot penetrate into the consequences of the inertness he recommends, and he is ignorant of the evils that attend upon delegated power. It was not without reason that our great Sadi emphatically exclaimed "Cease to be Kings! Oh, cease to be Kings! or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves." Go, tell thy friend, that if he be desirous of my applause, he must acquit himself well of the trust reposed in him; but let him have a care how he again obtrudes such counsel as it would be unworthy of a King to receive. Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives, too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury.'

A melancholy circumstance happened at this time which excited a great deal of interest in *Dehli*, particularly in the *Seraglio*, and which proved the fallacy of an opinion

entertained by myself, as well as by others, that he who is entirely deprived of virility cannot feel the passion of love.

Didar-Kan, one of the principal eunuchs of the Seraglio, had built a house, to which he sometimes resorted for entertainment, and where he often slept. He became enamoured of a beautiful woman, the sister of a neighbour, a Gentile, and a scrivener by profession. An illicit intercourse continued for some time between them, without creating much suspicion. After all, it was but an eunuch, privileged to enter anywhere, and a woman!

The familiarity between the two lovers became at length so remarkable, that the neighbours began to suspect something, and chaffed the scrivener on the subject. He felt so stung by these taunts that he threatened to put both his sister and the eunuch to death if the suspicions of their guilt should be verified. Proof was not long wanting: they were one night discovered in the same bed, by the brother, who stabbed *Didar-Kan* through the body, and left his sister for dead.

Nothing could exceed the horror and indignation of the whole Seraglio. Women and eunuchs entered into a solemn league to kill the scrivener; but their machinations excited the displeasure of Aureng-Zebe, who contented himself by compelling the man to become a Mahometan.

It seems nevertheless to be the general opinion that he cannot long escape the power and malice of the eunuchs. Emasculation, say the *Indians*, produces a different effect upon men than upon the brute creation; it renders the

In the original 'un Ecrivain Gentil,' or, in other words, a Hindoo writer or clerk. At this period the collection of the revenue, the keeping of the accounts, the conduct of the official correspondence of the Court was all in the hands of Hindoo clerks, well versed in Persian. As Professor Blochmann tells us in his Calcutta Review article already quoted (p. 40, footnote 1), 'the Hindús from the 16th century took so zealously to Persian education, that, before another century had elapsed, they had fully come up to the Muhammadans in point of literary acquirements.'

latter gentle and tractable; but who is the cunuch, they ask, that is not vicious, arrogant and cruel? It is in vain to deny, however, that many among them are exceedingly faithful, generous, and brave.

Much about the same time, Rauchenara-Begum incurred the displeasure of Aureng-Zebe, the Princess having been suspected of admitting two men into the seraglio. As it was only suspicion, however, the King was soon reconciled to his sister. Nor did he exercise the same cruelty toward the two men, who were caught and dragged into his presence, as Chah-Jehan had done upon a similar occasion toward the unhappy gallant concessed in the cauldron,1 I shall relate the whole story exactly as I heard it from the mouth of an old woman, a half-caste Portuguese,2 who has been many years a slave in the scraglio, and possesses the privilege of going in and out at pleasure. From her I learnt that Rauchengra-Begum, after having for several days enjoyed the company of one of these young men. whom she kept hidden, committed him to the care of her female attendants, who promised to conduct their charge out of the Seraglio under cover of the night. But whether they were detected, or only dreaded a discovery, or whatever else was the reason, the women fled, and left the terrified youth to wander alone about the gardens; here he was found, and taken before Aureng-Zebe; who, when he had interrogated him very closely, without being able to draw any other confession of guilt from him than that he had scaled the walls, decided that he should be compelled to leave the seraglio in the same manner. But the ennuchs, it is probable, exceeded their master's instructions, for they threw the calprit from the top of the wall to the bottom. As for the second paramour, the old Portuguese informed me that he too was seen roving about the gardens, and that having told the King he had entered

1 See p. 12.

^{* &#}x27;Une visille Mestice de Fostugals,' in the original; from mestice,

into the Scroglio by the regular gate, he was commanded to quit the place through that same gate. Aureug-Zebe determined, however, to inflict a severe and exemplary punishment upon the cumuchs; because it was essential, not only to the honour of his house, but even to his personal safety, that the entrance into the seraglio should be vigilantly guarded.

Some months after this occurrence five ambassadors arrived at Dehli, nearly at the same time. The first was from the Cherif¹ of Meca, and the presents that accompanied this embassage consisted of a small number of Arabian horses and a besom which had been used for sweeping out² the small chapel situated in the centre of the Great Mosque at Meca; a chapel held in great veneration by Mahometons, and called by them Beit-Allah, or the House of God. They believe this was the first temple dedicated to the true God, and that it was creeted by Mahana,

The second ambassador was sent by the King of Hycmon, or Arabia Felix; and the third by the Prince of Bassora; both of whom also brought presents of Arabian horses.

The two other ambassadors came from the King of Ebeche, or Ethiopia.4

Little or no respect was paid to the first three of these diplomatists. Their equipage was so miserable that every

i The Grand Shereef (from the Arabic tharif, noble) of Mecca, who has control over the Holy Places, claims to be a lineal descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The name of the present (1891) Grand Shereef is 'Aun ét-Rafiq, and he succeeded to this dignity in 1882.

Similar to the small hand-brushes, generally made of leaves of the date-palm, used in the managers of India for a like purpose. The 'small chapel' being the Ka'bah, or Cube-brushe, in which is placed the Black Stone, in the centre of 'The Sacred Mosque' (Managidu 't-Haram) at Mecca. The term Baita'llas or 'House of God' in applied to the whole enclosure, although it more specially denotes the Ka'bah itself.

² Yessen, the territory of al- Yamen, to the south-east of Mecca.

^{*} Abyminia, see p. 2 text, and footnote ?

one suspected they came merely for the sake of obtaining money in return for their presents, and of gaining still more considerable sums by means of the numerous horses, and different articles of merchandise, which they introduced into the kingdom free of all duty, as property belonging to ambassadors. With the produce of these horses and merchandise, they purchased the manufactures of Hindoustan, which they also claimed the privilege of taking out of the kingdom without payment of the impost charged on all commodities exported.

The embassy from the King of Ethiopia may deserve a little more consideration. He was well informed on the subject of the revolution in the Indies, and determined to spread his fame throughout this vast region by despatching an embassy that should be worthy of his great power and magnificence. The whispers of slander, indeed, if not rather the voice of truth, will have it that in sending these ambassadors this Monarch had an eye only to the valuable presents which might be received from the liberal hand of

Aureng-Zebe.

Now let us examine the personnel of this admirable Embassy. He chose as his Envoys two personages who doubtless enjoyed the greatest distinction at court, and were best qualified to attain the important ends he had in view. One of these was a Mahometan merchant, whom I met a few years before at Moka, when on my way from Egypt up the Red Sea.1 He had been sent thither by his august sovereign for the purpose of selling a large number of slaves, and of purchasing Indian goods with the money thus commendably obtained.

Such is the honourable traffic of this Great Christian

King of Africa!

The other ambassador was an Armenian and Christian merchant; born and married at Alep [Aleppo], and known in Ethiopia by the name of Murat.2 I saw him also at Moka, where he not only accommodated me with half his apart-

¹ See p. 2.

² The Chodja Moraad of Valentyn.

ment, but gave me such advice as deterred me from visiting Ethiopia, as was observed at the commencement of this history.\(^1\) Murat is likewise sent every year to Moka for the same object as the Mahometan merchant, and always takes with him the annual presents from his master to the English and Dutch East-India Companies, and conveys those which they give in return to Gonder.

The African Monarch, anxious that his ambassador should appear in a style suitable to the occasion, contributed liberally toward the expenses of the embassy. He presented them with thirty-two young slaves, boys and girls, to be sold at Moka; and the money raised by this happy expedient was to supply the expenses of the mission. A noble largess indeed! for let it be recollected that young slaves sell at Moka, one with another, at fiveand-twenty or thirty crowns per head.2 Besides these, the Ethiopian King sent to the Great Mogol twenty-five choice slaves, nine or ten of whom were of a tender age and in a state to be made eunuchs. This was, to be sure, an appropriate donation from a Christian to a Prince! but then the Christianity of the Ethiopians differs greatly from ours. The ambassadors also took charge of other presents for the Great Mogol; fifteen horses, esteemed equal to those of Arabia, and a small species of mule, whose skin I have seen: no tiger is so beautifully marked, and no alachá 3 of the Indies, or striped silken stuff, is more finely and variously streaked; 4 a couple of elephants' teeth, of a size so prodigious that it required, it seems, the utmost exertion of a strong man to lift either of them from the ground; and lastly, the horn of an ox, filled with civet, which was indeed enormously large, for I measured the

¹ See p. 2.

² Écus, or 'white crowns' as they were then called, worth 4s. 6d. each.

³ See p. 120, footnote.

⁴ A zebra, which is still considered a great curiosity in India, as evidenced by the admiring crowds to be seen round the specimen in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens.

mouth of it at Dehly, and found that it exceeded half a foot 1 in diameter.

The ambassadors, thus royally and munificently provided, departed from Gauder, the capital city of Ethiopia, situated in the province of Dumbia. They traversed a desolate country, and were more than two months travelling to Beiloul, an out-of-the-way scaport, near Bab-el-Mandel and opposite to Moko. For reasons, which I shall perhaps disclose in the course of my narrative, they dared not take the usual and carayan road from Gonder to Arkiko, a journey easily performed in forty days. From Arkiko it is necessary to pass over to the island of Masonou, where the Grand Seigneur has a garrison.

While waiting at Heilaul for a Moka vessel to cross the Red Sca, the party were in want of many of the neecs-

saries of life, and some of the slaves died.

On arriving at Moka, the ambassadors found that the market had been that year overstocked with slaves. The boys and girls, therefore, sold at a reduced price. As soon as their sale was effected, they pursued their voyage. embarking on board an Indian vessel bound to Sourule, where they arrived after a tolerable passage of five-andtwenty days. Several slaves, however, and many horses died; probably from want of proper nourishment, the funds of this pompous embassy being evidently insufficient to supply all its wants. The mule also died, but the skin was preserved.

They had not been many hours on shore at Sourale when a certain rebel of Visapour, named Sees-Gi,2 entered the

2 That is, the Sultan of Turkey.

¹ The French 'pled de Ville 'most probably, equal to 12\$ inches English.

Sivali, the founder of the Maratha power, born 1627, died on the 5th April 1680 (which is the correct date, but the 1st June is the date given in Valentyn's narrative). Of him it has been well said by Elphinstone (History of India, p. 647, ed. of 1874), 'Though the son of a powerful chief, he had begun life as a daring and artful captain of lambicsi, had ripened into a skilful general and an able statesman, and

town, which he pillaged and burnt. The house of the ambassadors did not escape the general conflagration; and all their effects that they succeeded in rescning from the flames, or the ravages of the enemy, were their credentials; a few alayes that Sena-Gi could not lay hold of, or whom he spared because they happened to be ill; their Ethiopian apparel, which he did not covet; the mule's skin, for which, I expect, he had no particular fancy; and the ox's horn that had already been emptied of its civet.

These exalted individuals spoke in exaggerated terms of their sad misfortunes; but it was insinuated by the malicious Indians, who witnessed their deplorable condition on landing-without decent clothing, destitute of money or bills of exchange, and half famished-that the two ambassadors were, in fact, lucky people, who ought to number the ransacking of Sourate 1 among the happiest events of their lives, since it saved them from the mortification of conducting their wretched presents as far as Dehli. Seca-Gi, the Indians said, had furnished these worthy representatives of the Ethiopian King with an admirable pretext for appearing like a couple of mendicants, and for soliciting the governor of Sourale to supply them with the means of living, and with money and carts to emble them to proceed to the capital. The attack upon Sourate had also covered their misdeeds, in disposing. for their own benefit, of the civet, and many of the slaves.

left a character which has never since been equalled or approached by any of his countrymen. The distracted state of the neighbouring countries presented openings by which an inferior leader might have profited; but it required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangelb by kimiling a real for religion and, through that, a national spirit among the Maratias. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it passed into feeble hands, and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders, until it had established its augrepracy over the greater part of India.

¹ This took place in January 1564. The Dutch account of the suck, as given by Valentyn, confirms Bernier's narrative very remarkably.

My excellent friend Monsieur Adrican,1 chief of the Dutch factory, gave Mural, the Armenian, a letter of introduction to me, which he delivered into my hands at Dehli, without being aware that I had been his guest at Moka.2 It was an agreeable surprise to meet thus unexpectedly, after an absence of five or six years. I embraced my old friend with affection, and promised to render him all the service in my power. Yet, though my acquaintance among the courtiers was pretty extensive, I found it difficult to be useful to these empty-handed amhassadors. The mule's skin, and the ox's horn, wherein was kept arrack, or brandy extracted from raw sugar, of which they are excessively fond, constituted the whole of their presents; and the contempt which the absence of valuable presents would alone inspire was increased by their miserable appearance. They were seen about the streets without a paleky, clad in true Bedouin fashion, and followed by seven or eight bare-footed and bare-headed slaves, who had no raiment but a nasty strip of cloth passed between their buttocks, and the half of a ragged sheet over the left shoulder, which was carried under the right arm, in the manner of a summer cloak. Nor had the ambassadors any other carriage than a hired and brokendown eart; and they were without any horse except one belonging to our Missionary Father, and one of mine that they sometimes borrowed, and which they nearly killed.

In vain did I for a long time exert myself in behalf of these despised personages; they were regarded as beggars, and could excite no interest. One day, however, when closeted with my Agah Danechmend-kan, who is minister for foreign affairs, I expatiated so successfully upon the grandeur of the Ethiopian Monarch, that Aureng-Zebe was induced to grant the ambassadors an audience, and to receive their letters. He presented both with a Ser-apah, or vest of brocade, a silken and embroidered girdle, and a

¹ See p. 127.

⁵ See p. 134

turban of the same materials and workmanship; gave orders for their maintenance, and at an audience, when the Emperor gave them their congé, which soon took place, he invested each with another Ser-apah, and made them a present of six thousand roupies, equal at present to nearly three thousand crowns: 1 but this money was unequally divided, the Mahometan receiving four thousand roupies, and Mural, because a Christian, only two thousand.

Aureng-Zebe sent by them, as presents to their royal master, an extremely rich Ser-apah; two large cornets, or trumpets, of silver gilt; two silver kettle-drums; a poniard studded with rubies; and gold and silver roupies to the amount of about twenty thousand francs: hoping, as he kindly expressed it, that this last gift would be peculiarly acceptable, and considered a rarity; the King of Ethiopia not having any coined money in his country.

The Mogol was well aware that not one of these roupies would be taken out of Hindousian, and that the ambassadors would employ them in the purchase of useful commodities. It turned out just as he foresaw. They bought spices, fine cotton cloths, for shirts for the King and Queen, and for the King's only legitimate son, who is to succeed to the throne, alachas or silken stuffs striped, some with gold and some with silver, for vests and summer trousers; English broadcloths, scarlet and green, for a couple of abbs, or Arabian vests, for their King; and lastly, quantities of cloth less fine in their texture for several ladies of the seraglio and their children. All

¹ This agrees with Tavernier's value (2s. 3d.) of the rupee. See also p. 135, footnote ², and p. 200, note.

² Karnás, trumpets with a bend, somewhat of the type of a cornet, and nakárahs, drums in shape like the modern kettle-drum, but beaten resting on the ground by a man who either stands or squats behind them, according to their size, were part of the insignia of Mogul royalty.

³ Abd, the well-known short coat or vest. English broadcloths were highly esteemed at the Mogul court, and the early travellers make frequent mention of them. Also see the chapter (32 of the first book) in the Ain-i-Akbari, in which details of their price are given.

these goods they were privileged, as ambassadors, to

export without payment of duty.

Notwithstanding all my friendship for Mural, there were three reasons why I almost repented of having exercised my influence in his behalf. The first was, that after he had promised to sell me his boy for fifty roupies, he sent word he would not part with the boy for less than three hundred. I felt almost disposed to give him his price, that I might have it in my power to say a father had sold me his own child. The lad was remarkably well made, and his skin of the clearest black; the nose was not flat, nor the lips thick, as is commonly the case among the Ethiopians. I was certainly angry with Marat for having violated his engagement.

I had, in the next place, ascertained that my friend, as well as his Mahometan companion, had solemuly promised Aureng-Zebe to urgo his King to permit the repair of a mosque in Ethiopia, which had been in ruins since the time of the Portuguese. The Mogol gave the ambassadors two thousand roupies in anticipation of this service. The mosque, erected as the mausolcam of a certain Cheik, or derriche, who left Meca for the purpose of propagating Mahometanism in Ethiopia, and had made great progress there, was demolished by the Portuguese, when they entered the country with troops from Goa, as allies of the lawful sovereign, who had embraced Christianity, and been driven from the throne by a Mahometan prince.

My third objection to Marai's conduct arose from the part he took in entreating Aureng-Zebe, in the name of the Ethiopian King, to send the latter an Alcoran and eight other books, with the names of which I am familiar, and which are of the first repute among the treatises written in defence of the Mahametan erced.

There seemed to me something extremely base and wicked in these proceedings, on the part of a Christian ambassador, acting in the name of a Christian King. They

afforded but too satisfactory a confirmation of the account I had received at Moka of the low ebb to which Christianity is reduced in the kingdom of Ethiopia. Indeed, all the measures of its government, and the character of the people, savour strongly of Mahometanism, and it cannot be doubted that the number, even of nominal Christians, has been on the decline since the death of the King, who was maintained on the throne by the troops from Goa. Soon after that event, the Portuguese, in consequence of the intrigues of the Queen-mother, were either killed or driven out of the country. The Jesuit Patriarch, whom his countrymen had brought from Goa, was compelled to fly for his life.

During the stay of the ambassadors at Dehli, my Agak, ever eager in search of knowledge, invited them frequently to his house. He asked many questions concerning the condition of their country and the nature of its government; but his principal object was to obtain information respecting the source of the Nile, which they call Abbabile,1 and concerning which they talked to us as so well ascertained that no one need question it. Murat and a Mogol, who travelled with him from Ethiopia, have visited the source, and the particulars given by them both are substantially the same as those I had learnt at Moka. They informed us that the Nile has its origin in the country of the Agans, rising from two bubbling and contiguous springs, which form a small lake of about thirty or forty paces in length; that the water running out of this lake is already a pretty considerable river; which continues, however, to increase in size by reason of the small tributary streams which, from here and there, flow into it. They added that the river went on in a circuitous course. forming, as it were, a large island; and that after falling from several steep rocks, it entered into a great lake wherein are several fertile islands, quantities of crocodiles, and, what would be much more remarkable, if true,

¹ Clearly a corruption of An-NII, 'the Nile.' In Arabic characters the words are almost identical.

numbers of sea-calves which have no other means of ejecting their excrement than the mouth. This lake is in the country of Dumbia, three short stages from Gonder, and four or five from the source of the Nile. The river, they continued, when it leaves the great lake, is much augmented by the numerous rivers and torrents which fall into that lake, especially in the rainy season; which is as periodical as in the Indies, commencing towards the end of July. This, by the way, is an important consideration, and accounts for the overflowing of the Nile. From the lake just mentioned the river runs by Sonnar, the capital city of the King of Fungi (tributary to the King of Ethiopia), and continues its course until it reaches the plains of Mesra or Egypt.

The two ambassadors dilated more copiously than was agreeable either to my Agah or myself on the magnificence of their sovereign, and the strength of his army; but their travelling companion, the Mogol, never joined in these panegyries, and told us, during their absence, that he had twice seen this army in the field, commanded by the King in person, and that it is impossible to conceive troops more wretched and worse disciplined.

The Mogal gave us a great deal of information about Ethiopia, the whole of which is noted in my journal, and may one day be given to the public. At present I shall content myself with noticing three or four facts related by Murat, and which, considering that they occurred in a Christian land, will be deemed sufficiently remarkable.

He said that in Ethiopia there are few men who do not keep several wives; nor was he ashamed to confess that he himself had two, besides the wife to whom he was legally married, and who resided in Aleppo. The Ethiopian women, he observed, do not hide themselves as in the Indies among the Mahometans and even the Gentiles; and nothing is more common than to see females of the lower ranks, whether single or married, bond or free, mingled together, day and night, in the same apartment; the

whole of them perfectly unaequainted with those feelings of jealousy so prevalent in other nations. The women, or wives of grandees, are at no great pains to conceal their attachment to any handsome cavalier, whose house they enter without fear or scruple.

If I had visited Ethiopia, I should have been compelled, they told me, to marry. A few years ago, a wife was forced upon an European, a Padry, who passed for a Greek physician; and it is curious enough that the woman whom they obliged him to wed was the same that he designed for one of his sons.

A man, eighty years of age, having presented to the King four-and-twenty sons, all of mature age, and able to carry arms, was asked by His Majesty whether those were the only children he could exhibit? The old gentleman answered that they were indeed the whole of the male part of his family, but that he was also the father of a few daughters. 'Out then from my presence, thou old calf!' was the King's rejoinder. 'I am astonished that instead of feeling shame, thou presumest to appear before me. Is there a lack of women in my dominions that thou, a man well stricken in years, caust boast of only two dozen sons?' The Ethiopian King himself has at least eighty children, who are met running about indiscriminately in all parts [qui couroient pêle mêle] of the seraglia. They are known by a round stick varnished, resembling a small mace, which the King had made for them, and which they carry about with great delight, as a sceptre, to distinguish them from those who are the children of certain slaves or other people of the scraglio.

Aureng-Zebe sent twice for the ambassadors. He boped, like my Agah, to increase his stock of knowledge by their conversation; but his chief anxiety was to be unde acquainted with the state of Mahomelanism in their country. He expressed a desire to see the mule's skin, which somehow or other remained afterward in the

³ A Koman priest, see p. 323, footnote 1,

fortress, in possession of the officers; much to my disappointment, for it was promised me in return for my good services, and I had counted upon one day presenting it to one of our Firinoii in Europe. I strongly recommended the ambassadors to show the great horn to the King, as well as the skin; but this might have subjected them to the very embarrassing question; how it happened, that in the rausacking of Sourale they lost the civet, and yet retained the horn?

The Ethiopius embassy was still in Dehli, when Aureng-Zebe assembled his privy-council, together with the learned men of his court, for the purpose of selecting a suitable preceptor for his third son, Saltan Ekbar,1 whom he designs for his successor. He evinced upon this occasion the utmost solicitude that this young Prince should receive such an education as might justify the hope of his becoming a great man. No person can be more alive than Aureny-Zebe to the necessity of storing the minds of Princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue. He is very sensible that the cause of the misery which ailliets the empires of Asia, of their misrule, and consequent decay, should be sought, and will be found, in the deficient and pernicious mode of instructing the children of their Kings. Intrusted from infancy to the care of women and cunuchs, slaves from Russia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Gurgistan,3 or Ethiopia, whose minds are debased by the very nature of their occupation; servile and mean to superiors, proud and oppressive to dependants;these Princes, when called to the throne, leave the walls of the Seraglio quite ignorant of the duties imposed upon them by their new situation. They appear on the stage of life, as if they came from another world, or emerged,

² Georgia.

Muhammad Akbar, his fourth son, but the third then alive, revolted against his father, and took refuge in Persia, where he died.

for the first time, from a subterraneous cavern, astonished, like simpletons, at all around them. Either, like children, they are credulous in everything, and in dread of everything; or, with the obstinacy and heedlessness of folly, they are deaf to every sage counsel, and rash in every stupid enterprise. According to their natural temperament, or the first ideas impressed upon their minds, such Princes, on succeeding to a crown, affect to be dignified and grave, though it be easy to discern that gravity and dignity form no part of their character, that the appearance of those qualities is the effect of some ill-studied lesson, and that they are in fact only other names for savageness and vanity; or else they affect a childish politeness in their demeanour, childish because unnatural and constrained. Who, that is conversant with the history of Asia, can deny the faithfulness of this delineation? Have not her Sovereigns been blindly and bentally cruel,-cruel without judgment or mercy? Have they not been addicted to the mean and gross vice of drunkenness, and abandoned to an excessive and shameless luxury; ruining their bodily health, and impairing their understanding, in the society of concubines? Or, instead of attending to the concerns of the kingdom, have not their days been consumed in the pleasures of the chase? A pack of dogs will engage their thoughts and affection, although indifferent to the sufferings of so many poor people who, compelled to follow the unfeeling Monarch in the pursuit of game, are left to die of hunger, heat, cold, and fatigue. In a word, the Kings of Asia are constantly living in the induigence of monstrous vices, those vices varying, indeed, as I said before, according to their natural propensities, or to the ideas early instilled into their minds. It is indeed a rare exception when the Soccreign is not profoundly ignorant of the domestic and political condition of his empire. The reins of government are often committed to the hands of some Vicier, who, that he many reign lord absolute, with

security and without contradiction, considers it an essential part of his plan to encourage his master in all his low pursuits, and divert him from every avenue of knowledge. If the sceptre be not firmly grasped by the first minister, then the country is governed by the King's mother, originally a wretched slave, and by a set of eunuchs, persons who possess no enlarged and liberal views of policy, and who employ their time in barbarous intrigues; banishing, imprisoning, and strangling each other, and frequently the Grandees and the Visier himself. Indeed, under their disgraceful domination, no man of any property is sure of his life for a single day.

When Aureng-Zebe had received the different embassles I have described, news at length reached the court that one from Persia had arrived on the frontier. The Persian Omrahs, and others of that nation, in the service of the Mogol, spread a report that affairs of the utmost moment brought the ambassador to Hindonstan. Intelligent persons, however, gave no credence to the rumour: the period for great events was gone by, and it was clear that the Persions had no other reason for saving their countryman was intrusted with an important commission, than a vain and overweening desire to exalt their nation. It was also pretended by the same individuals, that the Omrah appointed to meet the ambassador on the frontier, and to provide for his honourable treatment during his journey to the capital, was strictly enjoined to spare no pains to discover the principal object of the embassy. He was instructed, they said, to prepare, by degrees, the haughty Persian for the ceremony of the Salam, which was to be represented, as well as that of delivering all letters through the medium of a third person, as a custom that has invariably obtained from time immemorial. It is sufficiently evident, however, from what we witnessed. that these were idle tales, and that Aureng-Zebe is raised much above the necessity of recurring to such expedients.

On his entry into the capital, the ambassador was received with every demonstration of respect. The Bazars through which he passed were all newly decorated, and the cavalry lining both sides of the way extended beyond a league. Many Omraha, accompanied with instruments of music, attended the procession, and a salute of artillery was fired upon his entering the gate of the fortress, or royal palace, Aureng-Zebe welcomed him with the greatest politeness; manifested no displeasure at his making the salam in the Persian manner, and unhesitatingly received from his hands the letters of which he was the bearer; raising them, in token of peculiar respect, nearly to the crown of his head. An cunneh having assisted him to unseal the letters, the King perused the contents with a serious and solemn countenance, and then commanded that the ambassador should be elad. in his presence, with a vest of brocade, a turban, and a silken sash, embroidered with gold and silver, called a serapah, as I have before explained. This part of the ceremony over, the Persian was informed that the moment was come for the display of his presents; which consisted of five-and-twenty horses, as beautiful as I ever beheld, with housings of embroidered brocade; twenty highly bred camels, that might have been mistakee for small elephants, such was their size and strength; a considerable number of cases I containing excellent rosewater, and another sort of distilled water called Beidmichk,2 a cordial held in the highest estimation and very scarce; five or six carpets of extraordinary size and beauty; a few pieces of brocade extremely rich, wrought in small flowers,

Bidwauhk, a cordial still highly estremed in Northern India, distilled from a species of willow, bid in Persian.

¹ Catizet in the original. Resewater and bedomnike were enclosed in glass bottles, holding about 2½ gallons each, called in Persian bardins (hence the English word arrive) covered with wicker-work. Case is therefore a better rendering than box, as used by former translators of these Travels.

in so fine and delicate a style that I doubt if anything so elegant was ever seen in Europe; four Damascus cutlasses, and the same number of poniards, the whole covered with precious stones; and lastly, five or six sets of horse-farniture, which were particularly admired. The last were indeed very handsome and of superior richness; ornamented with superb embroidery and with small pearls, and very beautiful turquoises, of the old rock.¹

It was remarked that Aureng-Zebe seemed unusually pleased with this splendid present; he examined every item minutely, noticed its elegance and rarity, and frequently extolled the munificence of the King of Persia. He assigned the ambassador a place among the principal Omrahs; and after speaking about his long and fatiguing journey, and several times expressing his desire to see him every day, he dismissed him.

He remained at Dehli four or five months, living sumptuously at Aureng-Zebe's expense, and partaking of

In the original, 'de la vicille Roche,' which means that they were, so to speak, of the finest water. This phrase was used to denote those precious stones in general that exhibited more or less perfect crystalline forms, being considered more developed than those with amorphous forms. Tavernier's (Transh, vol. ii, pp. 103, 104) description of the turquoise is valuable, as elucidating Bernier's account of the presents. 'Turquoise is only found in Parsta, and is obtained in two mines. The one, which is called "the old rock," is three days' lourney from MESHED towards the north-west and near to a large town called NICHAROURO [Nishapur in Meshed is the classic locality for the true turquoise]; the other, which is called "the new," is five days' journey from it. Those of the new are of an inferior blue, tending to white, and are little esteemed, and one may purchase as many of them as he likes at small cost. But for many years the King of PERSIA has prohibited mining in the "old rock" for any one but himself, because having no gold workers in the country besides those who work in thread, who are ignorant of the art of enamelling on gold, and without knowledge of design and engraving, he uses for the decoration of awords, daggers, and other work, these turquoises of the old rock instead of enamel, which are cut and arranged in patterns like thowers and other figures which the (jewellers) make. This carches the eye and passes as a laborious work. It is wanting in design."

the hospitality of the chief Omrahs, who invited him by turns to grand entertainments. When permitted to return to his country, the King again invested him with a rich Ser-apah, and put him in possession of other valuable gifts, reserving the presents intended for the Persian Monarch for the embassy that he determined to send, and which was very soon appointed.

Notwithstanding the strong and unequivocal marks of respect conferred by Aureng-Zebe upon this last ambassador, the Persians at the court of Dehli insinuated that the King of Persia, in his letters, reproached him keenly with the death of Dara, and the incarceration of Chah-Jehan, representing such actions as unworthy a brother, a son, and a faithful Musulman. He also, they said, reproved him for having assumed the name of Alem-Guire, or Conqueror of the World, and for causing it to be inscribed on the coins of Hindonstan. They went so far as to affirm that these words formed part of the letters: 'Since then thou art this Alem-Guire, Besm-Illah, in the name of God, I send thee a sword and horses. Let us now, therefore, confront each other.' This would indeed have been throwing down the gauntlet. I give the story as I received it: to contradict it is not in my power; easy as any person finds it in this court to come to the knowledge of every secret, provided he be acquainted with the language, possess good friends, and be as profuse of money as myself for the sake of gratifying his curiosity. But I cannot be easily persuaded that the King of Persia made use of the language ascribed to him: it would savour too much of empty bluster and menace, though it cannot be denied that the Persians are apt to assume a lofty tone when they wish to impress an idea of their power and influence. I rather incline to the opinion entertained by the best informed, that Persia is not in a condition to act aggressively against such an empire as Hindoustan. She will have enough to do to retain Kan-daher, in the direction of Hindoustan, and preserve the integrity of her frontier

towards Turkey. The wealth and strength of that nation are accurately estimated. Her throne is not always filled by a Chah-Abas,1 a Sovereign intrepid, enlightened, and politic; capable of turning every occurrence to his benefit, and of accomplishing great designs with small means. If her government meditate any enterprise against Hindouslan, and be animated, as is given out, by these sentiments of regard for Chah-Jehan and the Musulman faith, who can explain why, during the late civil wars, which lasted so long in Hindoustan, she remained a quiet and apparently an unconcerned spectator of the seene? She was unmoved by the entreaties of Dara, of Chah-Jehan, of Sulian Sujah, and perhaps of the Governor of Caboul; although she might, with a comparatively small army, and at an inconsiderable expense, have gained possession of the fairest part of Hindoustan, from the kingdom of Caboul to the banks of the Indus, and even beyond that river; thus constituting herself the arbitress of every dispute.

The King of Persia's letters, however, either contained some offensive expressions, or Aureng-Zebe took umbrage

1 Shah 'Abbds L., surnamed the Great, who ascended the throne in 158S, and died in 1629. 'He was the first who made Isfahan the capital of Persia, was brave and active, and enlarged the boundaries of his dominions. He took conjointly with the English forces, in 1622, the island of Ormus, which had been in the possession of the Portuguese for 122 years.'-Beale. I have been told by learned natives of India that the Indian exclamation, Shohbash (Persian Shide-birk), tacaning, Well done I' Bravo I' REX FIRS, takes its origin from the name of this Persian monarch, or as Ovington, in his Voyage to Suratt in the Year 1689 (London, 1696), p. 169, so qualntly puts it, 'The mighty Deeds and renown'd Exploits of Schah Abbus, the Persian Emperor, have likewise imprinted Eteroal Characters of Fame and Honour upon his Name, which is now by vulgar use made the signification of any thing extraordinary or Miraculous; so that when any thing surpassing Excellent, or wonderful, is either done or spoken, the Indians presently say of it, Schak-Abbas!" Compare Horace,

. . . At pueri indentes, hex erts, aunt Si recte facies.

at the conduct or language of the ambassador; because the King complained, two or three days after the embassy had quitted Dehli, that the horses presented in the name of the Persian Monarch had been hamstrung by order of the ambassador. He commanded, therefore, that he should be intercepted on the frontier, and deprived of all the Indian slaves he was taking away. It is certain that the number of these slaves was most unreasonable; he had purchased them extremely cheap on account of the famine, and it is also said that his servants had stolen a great many children.

Aureng-Zebe, during the stay of this embassy at Dehli, was careful to demean himself with strict propriety; unlike his father, Chah-Jehan, who, upon a similar occasion, either provoked the anger of the ambassador of the celebrated Chah-Abas, by an ill-timed haughtiness, or excited his contempt by an unbecoming familiarity.

A Pervian, who wishes to indulge in any satirical merriment at the expense of the Indians, relates a few such anecdotes as the following.

When Chah Jehan had made several truitless attempts to subdue the arrogance of the ambassador, whom no arguments or caresses could induce to salute the Great Mogol according to the Indian mode, he devised this artifice to gain his end. He commanded that the grand entrance of the court leading to the Am-Kas, where he intended to receive the ambassador, should be closed, and the wicket only left open; a wicket so low that a mancould not pass through without stooping, and holding down the head as is customary in doing reverence d Undien. Chah-Jehan hoped by this expedient to have it in his power to say that the ambassador, in approaching the royal presence, bowed the head even nearer to the ground than is usual in his court; but the proud and quick-sighted Persian, penetrating into the Mogol's design, entered the wicket with his back turned toward the

King. Chah-Jehan, vexed to see himself overcome by the ambassador's stratagem, said indignantly, ' Eh-bed-bakt (Ah, wretch !) I didst thou imagine thou wast entering a stable of asses like thyself?' 'I did imagine it,' was the answer. 'Who, on going through such a door, can believe he is visiting any but asses?"

Another story is this: - Chuh-Jehan, displeased with some rude and coarse answer made by the Persian ambassador, was provoked to say, ' Eh-bed-bakt I has then Chah-Abas no gentleman in his court that he sends me such a fool?" O, yes! the court of my Sovereign abounds with men far more polite and accomplished than I am; but he adapts

the Ambassador to the King.'

One day, Chah-Jehan having invited the ambassador to dine in his presence, and seeking, as usual, an occasion to discompose and vex him; while the Persian was busily employed in picking a great many bones, the King said coolly, 'Eh Eltchy-Gy (Well, My Lord Ambassador), what shall the dogs eat?" 'Kichery,' was the prompt answer; a favourite dish with Chah-Jehan, which he was then indulging in,-Kickery being a mess of vegetables, the general food of the common people.2

The Mogol inquiring what he thought of his new Dehli, then building, as compared to Ispahan; he answered aloud,

1 Ill-conditioned or ill-bred fellow, literally.

The dish 'kedgeree,' formerly a favourite dish in Anglo-Indian families, but now going somewhat out of fashion. The word is derived from the Hindoo khichri, a mess of rice cooked with give and dal (Cajanur Indians, Spreng.) and flavoured with a little spice, stewed onlons, and the like. Ovington, at. cit., p. 310, has the following pleasant description of this dish :- 'Aitcherse is another Dish very common among them, made of Dol, that is, a small round Pea and Rice bolled together, and is very strengthening, the' not very savoury. Of this the European Sailers feed in these parts once or twice a Week, and are forc'd at those times to a Pagan Abstinence from Flesh, which creates in them a perfect Dislike and atter Detestation to those Rannian Days, as they commonly call them.' Bannian is a rendering of the word Banyan, a Hindoo trader, Bunya being the familiar name among Anglo-Indians in Upper India for a grain-dealer.

and with an oath, 'Billah! billah! I Ispahan cannot be compared to the dust of your Dehli:' which reply the King took as a high encomium upon his favourite city, though the ambassador intended it in sportive derision, the dust being intolerable in Dehli.

Lastly, the Persians gave out that their countryman, being pressed by Chah-Jehan to tell him candidly how he estimated the relative power of the Kings of Hindowstan and Persia, observed that he likened the Kings of the Indies to a full moon fifteen or sixteen days old, and those of Persia to a young moon of two or three days. This ingenious answer was at first very flattering to the Great Mogol's pride, but became a source of deep mortification when he had rightly interpreted the ambassador's meaning; which was, that the kingdom of Hindowstan is now on the decline, and that of Persia advancing, like the crescent moon, in splendour and magnitude.

Such are the wittiesans so much vaunted by the Persians in the Indies, and which they seem never tired of repeating. For my part, I think a dignified gravity and respectful demeanour would better become an ambassador than the assumption of a supercilious and unbending carriage, or the indulgence of a taunting and sareastic spirit. Even if he possessed no higher principle to regulate his conduct, it is surprising that Chah-Abas's ambassador was not constrained by common considerations of prudence; and how much he had to fear from the resentment of a despot, whom he foolishly and unnecessarily provoked, was seen by the danger he narrowly

¹ Colloquial for Bi-Rikis equivalent to 'By God.' This word forms part of the expression so constantly on the lips of Moslems, La haula wa Id quaranta illá hi-Rikis' T'affyi 'I-'azim, 'There is no power and strength but in God, the High One, the Great.' The Prophet Muhammad ordered his followers to recite it very frequently, 'for these words are one of the treasures of Paradise. For these is no escape from God but with God. And God will open for the reciter thereof seventy doors of escape from evil, the least of which is poverty,—Michiglis I-Marabik, Book x. ch. ii.

escaped. Chah-Jehan's malignity grew so violent and undisguised that he addressed him only in the most opprobrious terms, and gave secret orders that when the ambassador entered a long and narrow street in the fortress, leading to the Hall of Assembly, an elephant must, and in a very dangerous state, should be let loose upon him. A less active and courageous man must have been killed; but the Persian was so nimble in jumping out of his paleky, and, together with his attendants, so prompt and dexterous in shooting arrows into the elephant's trunk, that the animal was scared away.

It was at the time of the return of the Persian ambassadors that Aureng-Zebe accorded that memorable reception to his quondam teacher Mullah Salé.2 It is an uncommonly good story. This old man had resided for several years near Kaboul in retirement on an estate presented to him by Chah-Jehan, when he was made acquainted with the termination of the civil war, and the complete success which had attended the ambitious projects of his former pupil. He hastened to Dehli, sanguine in his expectation of being immediately advanced to the rank of Omrah; and there was no person of influence, up to Rauchenara-Begum, whom he did not engage in his favour. Three months elapsed before Aureng-Zebe would even appear to know that such a person was within the purlieus of the court; but weary at last with seeing him constantly in his presence, the

¹ Thus I render 'qui étoient en humeur.'

² Mulla Shah, a native of Badakshán, was the *Murshid* or spiritual guide of Dárá Shikoh, and was highly respected by Sháh Jahán. He died in Kashmir about the year 1660. He may be the *Mullah Salé* of Bernier's narrative, and have taught Aurangzeb also. I possess a very fine contemporary portrait, by a Delhi artist, of Dárá's teacher, who was one of the disciples of Mián Sháh Mír of Lahore, after whom part of the area now occupied as the Cantonment of Mián Mír (Meean Meer), near the capital of the Punjab, was named; the Mián Sáhib's tomb, with a mosque and land attached, being included within its boundaries.

Mogol commanded that he should come to him in a seeluded apartment, where only Hakim-ul-Mouluk Danech-mend kan, and three or four other grandees, who pride themselves upon their accomplishments, were present. He then spoke in nearly the following words. I say nearly, because it is impossible to transcribe so long a discourse precisely in the terms in which it was delivered. Had I been present myself, instead of my Agah, from whom I received a report of the speech, I could not hope to be verbally correct. There can be no doubt, however, that what Aureng-Zebe said was substantially as follows: - Pray what is your pleasure with me, Mullah-gy-[Mulla-If] Monsieur the Doctor?-Do you pretend that I ought to exalt you to the first honours of the State? Let us then examine your title to any mark of distinction. I do not deny you would possess such a title if you had filled my young mind with suitable instruction. Show me a well-educated youth, and I will say that it is doubtful who has the stronger claim to his gratitude, his father or his tutor. But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition? You taught me that the whole of Franguistan 1 was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful Monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then he of Holland, and afterward the King of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Franquistan, such as the King of France? and him of Andalusia, you told me they resembled our petty Rajas, and that the potentates of Hindoustan eclipsed the glory of all other kings; that they alone were Humayons, Ekbars, Jehan-Guyres, or Chak-Jehans; the Happy, the Great, the Conquerors of the World, and the Kings of the World; and that Persia, Usbec, Kachguer, Tarlary, and Catay,5

² Europe. ³ França, in the original.

³ Here Catay (Cathay) is used as if the name of a distinct country other than China, whereas Khinai was the name for all China, from Khilan, the dynasty that ruled its Northern Provinces for 200 years. See p. 427, footnote *.

Pegu, Siam, China and Matchine,1 trembled at the name of the Kings of the Indies. Admirable geographer! deeply read historian! Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength; its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist; and, by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of States, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions, have been effected? Far from having imparted to me a profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind, scarcely did I learn from you the names of my ancestors, the renowned founders of this empire. You kept me in total ignorance of their lives, of the events which preceded, and the extraordinary talents that enabled them to achieve, their extensive conquests. A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a King; but you would teach me to read and write Arabic; doubtless conceiving that you placed me under an everlasting obligation for sacrificing so large a portion of time to the study of a language wherein no one can hope to become proficient without ten or twelve years of close application. Forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a Prince, you acted as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a Doctor of law; and thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth

In the original 'Tchine et Matchine,' a rotund way of saying China. In olden times the more intelligent Muhammadans used the term Máchin (a contraction for Máháchina, 'Great China,' the ancient Hindoo name for China) when talking of the Chinese Empire. Chin Machin, which occurs in many of the narratives of the old travellers, is, as Colonel Yule has pointed out (Cathay and the Way Thither), an instance of the use of a double assonant name, to express a single idea, a favourite Oriental practice; just as in Herodotus we have Crophi and Mophi, Thyni and Bithyni, and at the present day Thurn and Taxis.

in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words | '1

Such was the language in which Aureng-Zebe expressed his resentment; but some of the learned men, either wishing to flatter the Monarch and add energy to his speech, or actuated by jealousy of the Mullah, affirm that the King's reproof did not end here, but that, when he had spoken

¹ It is but seldom that an Emperor takes the world into his confidence, and proclaims aloud what he thinks of his schools and school-masters. Just this is what the Emperor Aurangzeh did in the speech teported by Bernier, and the utterances on the same subject made by the German Emperor at Berlin on the 4th December 1890, hear such a remarkable resemblance to those of the Mogul Emperor, constituting an interesting historical parallel, that it seems advisable to reproduce them here, from the report in The Times of the 5th December:—

Bentin, Doc. a.

To day a special conference on aducational reform in the higher schools and gymnola of Pravela was opened, under the pessidency of the Emperor himself in the Ministry of Public Worship. Herr von Cossiar, the Ministr, began by that he ing the Emperor for the warm personal interest he displayed in such matters. The time had now adone, he said, to consider whether Pression schools were to continue at the same old classical path, or whether they should not now rather endeavour to adapt themselves to the spirit and practice and needs of modern life. All the learned professions were now filled to excess, and Germany was producing too many University men, for whom there seemed to be but among prospects in the graving struggle for existence.

The Emperor then followed with a long and well-thought-out address. He tabled a series of quaries on the subject under discussion, and pencerded to argue an elaborate length that the gymnosia or higher public schools no longer asswared the requirements of the nation and the necessities of the time. They produced grammed youths, but not men, wasting on Latin and classical love the time which should be devoced to the German hanguage and to German history—a knowledge which was of infinitely more value to a German all the chronicles of antiquity. . He had binneff as on the various forms of a Gymnosium at Cauel, and knew all about their ways and methods, and the conver these were mended the better it would be for every con. . Since right, the philologists, as least fractionies, had bean sitting anthroped in the gymnosiu, devocing their attention more to increasing the hook-learning of their pupils than to forming their characters and training them for the need of practical life. This evil had good as far that it could go no further. Much more stress was laid on creaming young man's break with knowledge than on teaching them bow to apply it.

He had frequently been described as a famatical fee of the gymmanial system, but that was not up. He had an open eye to its crying defects, and of those pechaps the shief was its preparations partiality for classical education. The lamis of instruction is all such achieves anglet to be thereign, and their principal aim should be to turn our young therman instead of yunibful Greeks and Romans. They man remargement break with the medizzed and monthly break of the best of all their scholaries.

for a short time on indifferent subjects, he resumed his discourse in this strain: 'Were you not aware that it is during the period of infancy, when the memory is commonly so retentive, that the mind may receive a thousand wise precepts, and be easily furnished with such valuable instruction as will elevate it with lofty conceptions, and render the individual capable of glorious deeds? Can we

studies. The same remark applied to history is to language. Preference should be given in all schools to German history, geographical and legendary. It was only when they knew all the ine and outs of their own house that they could afford to moon about in a museum. When he was an achood the Great Elector was to him but a nebulotic personner. As for the Seven Years' War, it lay conside the region of study altogethes, and history suded with the French Revolution as the close of the last century. The Liberation were, however, which were extended important for the yeque, were not included, and it was only, thank God, by means of supplementary and very interesting lactures which he received from his private tenter, Dr. Himpoter, when he was now glad to see before him, that he got to know anything as all about modern bisney. . His Majesty then proceeded to know anything the achools which had hitherto been devoted to one of these directions only, his remarks being listened to with the heemest, and regarded as a masterpiece of peartical madou. —Our Own Correspondent.

The German Emperor's speech has naturally given rise to a great deal of discussion, and the opinions expressed by Scholars and Educational Experts all over Europe, as to his views on 'classical education' differ very widely. As it will be my constant aim throughout Constability Oriental Miscellary to impartially present both sides of any question on which there may be a difference of opinion among competent authorities, I now quote the opinions on the educational utility of the study of Greek, recently enunciated by a great Englishman (using this word in its widest signification), and one of the leading Educational Experts of the day.

On the 14th March 1891, Mr. Gladstone paid a visit to Eton, the school where, seventy years ago, he had been taught, and delivered a Saturday lecture to the boys now being educated there, on The character and attributes of the goddess Artemis in the Iliad and Odyssey.

At the conclusion of his lecture, Mr. Gladstone said (I quote from the report in The Times newspaper of the 16th March):—

When I was a boy I cared nothing as all about the Homeric gods. I did not enter into the subject until thirty or furry years afterwards, when, is a conversation with Dr. Pussy, who, like me, had been an Eron boy, he told me, having more series and brains than I had, that he took the deepest interest and had the greatest curiosity about these Homeric gods. They are of the greatest interest, and you cannot really endy the text of Homer without pathering fraint; and the more you study him the more you will be assembled at the multitude of Irasons and the completeness of the platme which he gives you. There is a perfect encyclopedia of human character

repeat our prayers, or acquire a knowledge of law and of the sciences, only through the medium of Arabic? May not our devotions be offered up as acceptably, and solid information communicated as easily, in our mother tongue? You gave my father, Chah-Jehan, to understand that you instructed me in philosophy; and, indeed. I have a perfect remembrance of your having, during several years, harassed

and human experience in the poems of Homer, more complete in every detail than is elsewhere furnished to us of Achaian life. (The right hon, gentleman resumed his seat amid hearty cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. Hornby, the Provost of Eton College, then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Gladstone for his kindness in coming among them, and the great honour he did to the present generation of his old school in thus addressing them in a lecture so full of matter for careful after-study, and also stated that it would be difficult, at once, to single out any special points for notice. The Provost then ended by saying:—

But I am sure we shall all have felt great pleasure and some comfort in knowing that a man so able, so laborious, so full of ideas as Mr. Gladstone, should still return in his leisure time to the old subjects which formed so large a portion of his school days. I hope I shall not be abusing his kindness by attributing to him an excessive educational conservatism which perhaps he would repudiate. But I cannot but think he intends to encourage us to hold fast to the old studies, as to which, though they cannot keep the exclusive place which was formerly theirs, we have Mr. Gladstone's authority for saying that there is no better foundation for the highest culture than the old Greek literature, and that in that literature there is nothing more healthy, more noble and splendid, than the early part of it, which Mr. Gladstone has done so much to illustrate and recommend to this generation. I propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Gladstone, to which, I am sure, you will accord a hearty reception. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gladstone, in thanking his audience for the manner in which he had been received, and telling them how refreshing it was for an old man to come back among young ones, standing more or less in the position he once stood himself, concluded with these words:—

'I have mentioned a subject which is of such profound and vast extent, that were I to allow myself to be tempted, it would lead me to make another infliction upon you, but I answer the Provost by saying he has understood me rightly. I have not the smallest desire that all boys should be put upon the bed of Procrustes, and either contracted or expanded to the possession of Greek and Latin, especially of Greek, culture. I may say it would probably be a case of expansion rather than contraction. But the object is to find right and sufficient openings for all characters and all capacities. But this, Mr. Provost, I say with confidence, that my conviction and experience of life leads me to the belief that if the purpose of education be to fit the human mind for the efficient performance of the greatest functions, the ancient culture, and, above all, Greek culture, is by far the best, the highest, the most lasting, and the most elastic instrument that can possibly be applied to it. (Loud cheers.)

my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yield no satisfaction to the mind-propositions that seldom enter into the business of life; wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour, and forgotten as soon as conceived; whose only effect is to fatigue and ruin the intellect, and to render a man headstrong and insufferable [their Philosophy abounds with even more abourd and obscure notions than our own .- Bernier]. O yes, you caused me to devote the most valuable years of my life to your favourite hypotheses, or systems, and when I left you, I could boast of no greater attainment in the sciences than the use of many obscure and uncouth terms, calculated to discourage, confound, and appal a youth of the most masculine understanding [their Philosophers employ even more gibberish than ours do. Bernier]: terms invented to cover the vanity and ignorance of pretenders to philosophy; of men who, like yourself, would impose the belief that they transcend others of their species in wisdom, and that their dark and ambiguous jargon conceals many profound mysteries known only to themselves. If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the soul and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equatimity which is neither insolently clated by prosperity, nor basely depressed by adversity; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of man; accustomed me always to refer to first principles. and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe, and of the order and regular motion of its parts :- if such, I say, had been the nature of the philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than Alexander was to Aristotle, and should consider it my duty to bestow a very different reward on you than Aristotle received from that Prince. Answer me, sycophant, ought you not to have instructed me on one point at least, so essential to be known by a King; namely, on the reciprocal duties between the sovereign and his subjects? Ought you not also to have foreseen that I might, at some future period, be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every King of Hindoustan. Did you ever instruct me in the art of war, how to besiege a town, or draw up an army in battle array? Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine on these subjects! Go! withdraw to thy village. Henceforth let no person know either who thou art, or what is become of thee.

At that time a slight disturbance arose against the astrologers, which I did not find unpleasing. The majority of Anatics are so infatuated in favour of being guided by the signs of the heavens,1 that, according to their phraseology, no circumstance can happen below, which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. When two armies have completed every preparation for battle, no consideration can induce the generals to commence the engagement until the Sahel be performed; that is, until the propitious moment for attack be ascertained. In like manner no commanding officer is nominated, no marriage takes place, and no journey is undertaken, without consulting Monsieur the Astrologer. Their advice is considered absolutely necessary even on the most trifling occasions; as the proposed purchase of a slave, or the first wearing of new clothes. This silly superstition is so general an annoyance, and attended with such important and disagrecable consequences, that I am astonished it has continued so long: the astrologer is necessarily made acquainted with

I In the original Astrologie fudiciaire.

^{*} The Ambic word as as, meaning 'moment' or 'hour.' See P. 244-

every transaction public and private, with every project

common and extraordinary.

Now it happened that the King's principal astrologer fell into the water and was drowned. This melancholy accident caused a great sensation at court, and proved injurious to the reputation of these professors in divination. The man who had thus lost his life always performed the Sahet for the King and the Omrahs; and the people naturally wondered that an astrologer of such extensive experience, and who had for many years predicted happy incidents for others, should have been incapable of foreseeing the sad catastrophe by which he was himself overwhelmed. It was insinuated that in Franguistan, where the sciences flourish, professors in astrology are considered little better than cheats and jugglers, that it is there much doubted whether the science be founded on good and solid principles, and whether it be not used by designing men as a means of gaining access to the great, of making them feel their dependence, and their absolute need of these pretended soothsavers.

The astrologers were much displeased with these and similar observations, and particularly with the following aneedote, which was universally known and repeated :-Chak-Abas, the great King of Persia, having given orders that a small piece of ground within the seraglio should be prepared for a garden, the master-gardener intended to plant there several fruit-trees on a given day; but the astrologer, assuming an air of vast consequence, declared that unless the time of planting were regulated by the Sahet, it was impossible that the trees should thrive. Chah-Abas having acquiesced in the propriety of the remark, the astrologer took his instruments; turned over the pages of his books, made his calculations and coneladed that, by reason of this or that conjunction of the planets, it was necessary to plant the trees before the expiration of another hour. The gardener, who thought of nothing less than an appeal to the stars, was absent

when this wise determination was formed; but persons were soon procured to accomplish the work : holes were dug, and all the trees put into the ground, the King placing them himself, that it might be said they were all planted by the hand of Chah-Abas. The gardener, returning at his usual hour in the afternoon, was greatly surprised to see his labour anticipated; but observing that the trees were not ranged according to the order he had originally designed-that an apricot, for example, was placed in the soil intended for an apple-tree, and a peartree in that prepared for an almond-he pulled up the premature plantation, and laid down the trees for that night on the ground, covering the roots with earth. In an instant the astrologer was apprised of the gardener's proceedings, and he was equally expeditious in complaining to Chah-Abas, who, on his part, sent immediately for the culprit. 'How is it,' eried the Monarch indignantly, that you have presumed to tear up trees planted by my own hands; trees put into the ground after the solemu performance of the Sahet? We cannot now hope to repair the mischief. The stars had marked the hour for planting, and no fruit can beneeforth grow in the garden." The honest rustic had taken liberal potations of Schirus wine, and looking askance at the astrologer, observed after an oath or two, Billah, Billah, an admirable Sahet certainly! thou augur of evil! Trees planted under thy direction at noon, are in the evening torn up by the roots!' Chah-Abas, hearing this unexpected piece of satirical drollery, laughed heartily, turned his back upon the astrologer, and walked away in silence.

I shall mention two other circumstances, although they happened during the reign of Chah-Jehan. The narration will be useful in showing that the barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the King's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service.

Neik-nam-Kan was one of the most distinguished Omraha

at court, and during forty or lifty years while he held important offices had amassed an immense treasure. This lord always viewed with disgust the odlous and tyrannical custom above mentioned, a custom in consequence of which the widows of so many great Omrahs are plunged suddenly into a state of wretchedness and destitution, compelled to solicit the Monarch for a scanty pittance, while their sons are driven to the necessity of enlisting as private soldiers under the command of some Omrah. Finding his end approaching, the old man secretly distributed the whole of his treasure among distressed widows and poor cavaliers, and afterwards filled the coffers with old iron, bones, worn-out shoes, and tattered clothes. When he had securely closed and sealed them, he observed that those coffers contained property belonging exclusively to Chah-Jehan. On the death of Neik-nam-Kan, they were conveyed to the King, who happened to be sitting in durbar, and who, inflamed with eager cupidity, commanded them to be instantly opened in the presence of all his Omrahs. His disappointment and vexation may easily be conceived; he started abruptly from his seat and hurried from the hall.

The second is but the record of the ready wit of a woman. Some years after the death of a wealthy banyane, or Gentile merchant, who had always been employed in the King's service, and, like the generality of his countrymen, had been a notorious usurer, the son became elamorous for a certain portion of the money. The widow refusing to comply with the young man's request, on account of his profligacy and extravagance, he had the baseness and folly to make Chah-Jehan acquainted with the real amount of the property left by his father, about two hundred thousand crowns. The Mogol immediately

In Bernier's time Basques was the name generally applied by foreigners to Hindoo traders generally. It is now, at least in Bengel, the name for a native broker attached to a house of business. See p. 152, footnote 2.

summoned the old lady, and, in presence of the assembled Garaks, commanded her to send him immediately one hundred thousand rougies, and to put her son in possession of fifty thousand. Having issued this peremptory injunction, he ordered the attendants to turn the widow out of the hall.

Although surprised by so sudden a request, and somewhat offended at being rudely forced from the chamber without an opportunity of assigning the reasons of her conduct, yet this courageous woman did not lose her presence of mind; she struggled with the servants, exclaiming that she had something further to divulge to the King. 'Let us hear what she has to say,' cried Chah-Jehan. 'Hozret-Salamet! (Heaven preserve your Majesty!) It is not perhaps without some reason that my son claims the property of his father; he is our son, and consequently our heir. But I would humbly inquire what kinship there may have been between your Majesty and my deceased husband to warrant the demand of one hundred thousand rouples?' Chah-Jehan was so well pleased with this short and artless harangue, and so amused with the idea of a banyane, or Gentile tradesman, having been related to the Sovereign of the Indies, that he burst into a fit of laughter, and commanded that the widow should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the money of her deceased husband.

I shall not now relate all the more important events which took place, from the conclusion of the war in or about the year 1660, to the period of my departure, more than six years afterwards. I doubt not that the account would very much promote the object I had in view in recording some of them; namely, an acquaintance with the manners and genius of the Mogols and Indians, and I may, therefore, notice the whole of those events in another place. At present, however, I shall confine my narration to a few important circumstances which regard personages with whom my readers have become familiar; beginning with Chah-Jehan.

Although Aureng-Zobe kept his father closely confined in the fortress of Agra and neglected no precaution to prevent his escape, yet the deposed monarch was otherwise treated with indulgence and respect. He was permitted to occupy his former apartments, and to enjoy the society of Begum-Saheb and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. In these respects no request was ever denied him; and as the old man became wondrously devout, certain Mullahs were allowed to enter his apartment and read the Koran. He possessed also the privilege of sending for all kinds of animals, horses of state, hawks of different kinds, and tame antelopes, which last were made to fight before him. Indeed, Aureng-Zebe's behaviour was throughout kind and respectful, and he paid attention to his aged parent in every possible way. He loaded him with presents, consulted him as an oracle, and the frequent letters of the son to the father were expressive of duty and submission. By these means Chah-Jehan's anger and haughtiness were at length subdued, insomuch that he frequently wrote to Aureng-Zebe on political affairs, sent Dara's daughter to him, and begged his acceptance of some of those precious stones, which he had threatened to grind to powder if again importuned to resign them.1 He even granted to his rebellious son the paternal pardon and benediction which he had often with vehement importunity in vain solicited.9

It should not be inferred from what I have said, that Chah-Jehan was always soothed with compliant submission.

¹ Sec p. 127.

² See Elliot's History, vol. vii. pp. 251, 252, for Khifi Khin's account of these transactions. Khift Khin states that 'many letters passed between the Emperor Shih Jahin and Aurangreb full of complaints and repreaches on one side, and of pritating excuses on the other. The historian gives three letters from Aurangreb in extento, the third being an answer to one written by Shih Jahin to Aurangreb, pardoning his offences and sending some jewels and clother, belonging to Dara Shikoh which had been left in his palace.

I was convinced by one of Aureng-Zebe's letters, that he could address his father with energy and decision, when provoked by the arrogant and authoritative tone sometimes assumed by the aged monarch. I obtained a sight of a portion of the letter, which ran in these words :-'It is your wish that I should adhere rigidly to the old custom, and declare myself heir to every person who dies in my service. We have been accustomed, as soon as an Omrah or a rich merchant has ceased to breathe, nay sometimes before the vital spark has fled, to place seals on his coffers, to imprison and beat the servants or officers of his household, until they made a full disclosure of the whole property, even of the most inconsiderable jewel. This practice is advantageous, no doubt; but can we deny its injustice and cruelty? and should we not be rightly served if every Omrah acted as Neik-nam-Kan, and if like the Hindoo1 merchant's widow, every woman concealed her wealth?

'I wish to avoid your censure, and cannot endure that you should form a wrong estimate of my character. My elevation to the throne has not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know by more than forty years' experience, how burthensome an ornament a crown is, and with how sad and aching a heart a monarch retires from the public gaze. Our great ancestor Ekbar, auxious that his successors should exercise their power with mildness, discretion and wisdom, recommended to their serious attention in the excellent memoirs left behind him, a fine characteristic of Mir-Timur. He recounts that on the day on which Bajazet² was made prisoner, when he was brought into the presence of Timur, the latter, after attentively fixing his eyes upon the haughty captive,

¹ Indou in the original.

The 'popular' and time-honoured form of the name of the Turkish Solian Baiarid 1., taken prisoner by Timur Lang on the 21st July 1402, then confined in an iron cage and carried about in this manner with the conqueror's camp, till he died on the 8th March 1403.

laughed in his face. Bajazet, much offended at this rudeness, told the conqueror not to exult too extravagantly in his good fortune; "It is God," said he, "who exalts or debases Kings, and though you are victorious to-day, you may be in chains to-morrow." "I am very sensible," answered Timer, " of the vanity and mutability of earthly possessions, and Heaven forbid that I should insult a fallen enemy. My laughter proceeded not from any wish to wound thy feelings, Bajazet; it escaped involuntarily, while I was indulging a series of ideas suggested by the uncomeliness of both our persons. I looked at thy countenance, rendered unsightly by the loss of an eve; and then considering that I am myself a miserable cripple, was led into a train of reflections, which provoked me to laughter. What can there be within the circle of a crown," I asked, "which ought to inspire Kings with inordinate self-esteem, since Heaven bestows the bamble upon such ill-favoured mortals?"

'You seem to think, that I ought to devote less time and attention to measures which I conceive essential to the consolidation and security of the kingdom, and that it would better become me to devise and execute plans of aggrandisement. I am indeed for from denving that conquests ought to distinguish the reign of a great Monarch, and that I should disgrace the blood of the great Timer, our honoured progenitor, if I did not seek to extend the bounds of my present territories. At the same time, I cannot be justly reproached with inglorious inaction, and you cannot with truth assert that my armies are unprofitably employed in the Decan and in Bengule. I wish you to recollect that the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest Kings. The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilised barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. He is the truly great King who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity,' and so forth. The remainder of this letter did not fall into my hands.

Seconder. I shall now say a few words regarding the celebrated *Emir-Jemla*, recur to some of the incidents wherein he was concerned after the termination of the civil war, and mention the manner in which he closed his brilliant career.

In effecting the subjugation of Bengale that great man did not behave to Sultan Sujah with the cruelty and breach of faith practised by Gion-Kan, that infamous Palan, towards Dara, or by the Raja of Serenaguer towards Soliman-Chekouh. He obtained possession of the country like a skilful captain, and disdaining any unworthy stratagem to secure Sujah's person, contented himself with driving the discomfited Prince to the sea, and compelling him to leave the kingdom.1 Emir-Jemla then sent an cunuch to Aureng-Zebe with a letter, supplicating the King to permit his family to repair to Bengale under the enmeh's care. 'The war is happily at an end,' he said, 'and as I am enfeebled snil broken down by age, you will not, you surely cannot, refuse me the consolation of passing the remainder of my days with my wife and children.' But Aureng-Zebe penetrated at once into the design of this expert politician; he knew that if his son Mahmet Emirkan were permitted to visit Bengale, the father, Jemla, would aspire to the independent sovereignty of that kingdom, if indeed such an acquisition would have satisfied the pretensions of that extraordinary man. He was intelligent, enterprising, brave, and wealthy; at the head of a victorious army; beloved and feared by his soldiers, and in possession of the finest province in Hindonston. The transactions in which he had been engaged in Galkonda proved his impatient and daring spirit, and directly to refuse compliance with his request would unquestionably have been attended with danger. Aurenz-Zebe acted upon this occasion with his wonted prodence and address. He sent to the Emir his wife and daughter, together with his son's children; created him



Fig. 7. - Amir Jumia amusing bismelf in his Zenana.

Mir-ul-omrah,¹ the highest rank that can be conferred by the King upon a favourite; and appointed the son, Mahmet Emir-Khan, Grand Bakchis,² or Grand Master of the Horse, the second or third situation in the state, which, however, confines the possessor to the court, rendering it difficult, if not impossible, for him to remain at a distance from the King's person. Jemla was also confirmed in the Government of Bengale.

Foiled in his object, the Emir felt that a second demand for his son could not be made without offending the King, and that his wisest course was to express gratitude for all these marks of royal favour.

Affairs had remained in this state nearly a twelve-month, when the Mogol offered to Jemla the management of a war against the rich and powerful Raja of Acham, whose territories lie north of Daké, on the Gulf of Bengale. Aureng-Zebe justly apprehended that an ambitious soldier could not long remain in a state of repose, and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to excite internal commotions.

The Emir himself had been long meditating this enterprise, which he hoped would enable him to carry his arms to the confines of *China*, and secure to himself immortal fame. *Aureng-Zebe's* messenger found him perfectly prepared for the expedition. A powerful army was soon embarked at *Daké*, on a river flowing from the dominions

¹ Amír-ul-Umará, the Amír of the Amírs, principal Amír.

² Mír Bakshí, Commander-in-Chief; literally, principal paymaster (Bakshí), as at that period commanding officers were at the same time paymasters, and collectors of the rents of the lands assigned to them for the payment of their contingents.

³ Assam.

⁴ Islám Khán, Shaikh, in 1608, had made Dacca the capital of the Province of Bengal. This city is on the Búrhíganga River, formerly no doubt, as its name (Old Ganges) implies, the main stream of the Ganges. This river falls into the Megna, a branch of the Brahmaputra, the river referred to by Bernier. The expedition to conquer Assam started from Dacca in 1661.

about to be invaded, and Jemla and his troops ascended the stream in a north-east direction, until they reached a fortress named Aso, distant about one hundred leagues from Dake, which the Raja of Achum had wrested from a former Governor of Bengale. Aso was besieged and taken in less than a fortnight. The Emir then proceeded toward Chamdara, the key of the Raja's dominious, which he reached after a long march of eight-and-twenty days. Here a battle was fought to the Raja's disadvantage, who retired to Guerguon, his capital city, forty leagues from Chamdara; but being closely and vigorously pressed by Jemla, he had not time to fortify himself in that place. and was therefore compelled to continue his retreat to the mountains of the kingdom of Lassa. Chamdara and Guerguan were given up to pillage. The latter contained an infinite booty for the captors. It is a large and wellbuilt city, very commercial, and celebrated for the beauty of its women.

The progress of the invaders was checked by the rains which fell sooner than is customary, and which in this country are very heavy, inundating every spot of ground, with the exception of villages built on eminences. In the mean time, the Raja cleared the whole country, round the Emir's position, of cattle and every kind of provision, so that ere the rains ceased the army was reduced to great and urgent distress, notwithstanding the immense riches which it had accumulated. Jemla found it equally difficult to advance or to recede. The mountains in front presented impracticable barriers, while a retreat was prevented not only by the waters and deep mud, but also by the precaution taken by the Raja to break down the dike which forms the road to Chamdara. The Emir therefore, was confined to his camp during the whole of the rainy season, and, on the return of dry weather, his men were so dispirited by their incessant fatigue and long privations, that he abandoned the idea of conquering 1 Ghar-gánw of Kháfi Khán,

Acham. Under a less able commander, the army could not have hoped to reach Bengale: the want of provisions was severely felt; the mud, being still thick, greatly impeded the motions of the troops, and the Raja was active and indefatigable in pursuit; but Jemla conducted the movements of his army with his usual skill, and by his admirable retreat added greatly to his reputation. He returned laden with wealth.

The Emir, having improved the fortifications of Azo, left a strong garrison in that fortress, intending to renew, early in the following year, the invasion of Acham; but how far is it possible for the body, worn out by old age, to withstand the effects of fatigue? He, as well as others under his command, was not made of brass, and this illustrious man fell a victim to the dysentery which attacked the army soon after their arrival in Bengale.¹

His death produced, as might be expected, a great sensation throughout the Indies. 'It is now,' observed many intelligent persons, 'that Aureng-Zebe is king of Bengale.' Though not insensible of his obligations of gratitude, the Mogol was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. 'You mourn,' he publicly said to Mahmet Emir-kan, 'you mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends.' He behaved, however, with the utmost kindness and liberality to Mahmet; assured the young man that in himself he should always find a second father; and instead of diminishing his pay, or seizing upon Jemla's treasures, Aureng-Zebe confirmed Mahmet in his office of Bakchis, increased his allowance by one thousand roupies per month, and constituted him sole heir to his father's property.

THIRDLY. I shall now bring before the notice of my

He died on the 31st March 1663 at Khizarpúr in Kuch Behár.

readers Aureng-Zebe's uncle, Chah-hexkan, who, as I have already said, contributed in an essential degree by his eloquence and intrigues to the exaltation of his nephew. He was appointed, as we have seen, Governor of Agra, a short time before the battle of Kadjoiić, when Aureng-Zebe quitted the capital to meet Sullan Sujah. He was afterwards nominated Governor of the Decan, and commander-un-chief of the forces in that province; and, upon Emir-Jemla's decease, was transferred to the government of Bengale, appointed General of the army in that kingdom, and elevated to the rank of Mir-ul-Omrah, which had become vacant by the death of Jemla.

I owe it to his reputation to relate the important enterprise in which he was engaged, soon after his arrival in Bengale; an enterprise rendered the more interesting by the fact that it was never undertaken by his great predecessor, for reasons which remain unknown. The narrative will elucidate the past and present state of the kingdoms of Bengale and Rakan, which have hitherto been left in much obscurity, and will throw light on other circumstances which are deserving of attention.

To comprehend the nature of the expedition meditated by Chah-hestkan, and form a correct idea of the occurrences in the Gulf of Bengale, it should be mentioned that the Kingdom of Rakan, or Mog, has harboured during many years several Portuguese settlers, a great number of Christian slaves, or half-caste Portuguese, and other Franks collected from various parts of the world. That kingdom was the place of retreat for fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and other settlements in the Indics, held formerly by the Portuguese; and no persons were better received than those who had deserted their monasteries, married two or three wives, or committed other great crimes. These people were Christians only in name; the lives led by them were most detestable, massacring or

¹ Shaista Khon, Amir-ul-Umara.

⁴ la 1659.

^{*} See p. 66.

⁴ In 1666.

poisoning one another without compunction or remorse, and sometimes assassinating even their priests, who, to confess the truth, were too often no better than their murderers.

The King of Rakan, who lived in perpetual dread of the Mogol, kept these foreigners, as a species of advanced guard, for the protection of his frontier, permitting them to occupy a seaport called Chatigon,3 and making them grants of land. As they were unawed and unrestrained by the government, it was not surprising that these renegades pursued no other trade than that of rapine and piracy. They scoured the neighbouring seas in light galleys, called galleasses, entered the numerous arms and branches of the Ganges, ravaged the islands of Lower Bengale, and, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for the celebration of a marriage, or some other festival. The marauders made slaves of their unhappy captives, and burnt whatever could not be removed. It is owing to these repeated depredations that we see so many fine islands at the mouth of the Ganges, formerly thickly peopled, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate lairs of tigers and other wild beasts.2

Their treatment of the slaves thus obtained was most cruel; and they had the audacity to offer for sale, in the places which they had but recently ravaged, the aged people whom they could turn to no better account. It was usual to see young persons, who had saved themselves

¹ Chittagong, re-named in 1666 by the Monlema, Islâmdiád, commanding the mouth of the Megna, a port which played a very important part in the early history of European adventure in India.

In Rennell's Map of the Sunderbund and Baliaget Passages, published in 1780, a note is entered across part of the territory referred to by Bernier: Country depopulated by the Muggs. Changes in the course of the Gauges had also much to do with the desertion of this tract of country.

by timely hight, endeavouring to-day to redeem the parent who had been made captive yesterday. Those who were not disabled by age the pirates either kept in their service. training them up to the love of robbery and practice of assassination, or sold to the Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, San Thome, and other places. Even the Portuguese of Ogosli,1 in Bengule, nurchased without scruple these wretched captives, and the horrid traffic was transacted in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas.2 The pirates, by a mutual understanding, waited for the arrival of the Portaguese, who bought whole cargoes at a cheap rate; and it is lamentable to reflect that other Europeans, since the decline of the Portuguese power, have pursued the same flagitious commerce with these pirates, who hoast, the infamous scoundrels, that they make more Christians in a twelvemouth than all the missionaries of the Indies do in ten years. A strange mode this of propagating our holy religion by the constant violation of its most sacred precepts, and by the open contempt and defiance of its most awful sanctions!

The Portuguese established themselves at Ogonli under the auspices of Jehan-Guyre, the grandfather of Aureng-Zebe. That Prince was free from all prejudice against Christians, and hoped to reap great benefit from their commerce. The new settlers also engaged to keep the

Gulf of Bengale clear of pirates.

Chah-Jehan, a more rigid Mahometan than his father, visited the Portuguese at Ogouli with a terrible punishment. They provoked his displeasure by the encouragement afforded to the depredators of Rakan, and by their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service, who had all of them been subjects of the Magal. He first

2 Now called Palmyras Point, the well-known headland on the

Orissa coust.

¹ Högli, where the East India Company established a factory in 1640. Shiisti Khan's punitive expedition against the Arakan Raja was undertaken in 1664-05 (Stewart, History of Bengal, p. 297).

exacted, by threats or persuasion, large sums of money from them, and when they refused to comply with his ultimate demands, he besieged and took possession of the town, and commanded that the whole population should be transferred as slaves to Agra.¹

The misery of these people is unparalleled in the history of modern times: it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babulou; for even the children, priests, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the semglin; those of a more advanced age, or of inferior beauty, were distributed among the Omrahs; little children underwent the rite of circumcision, and were made pages; and the men of adult age, allured, for the most part, by fair promises, or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants, renounced the Christian faith, Some of the monks, however, remained faithful to their creed, and were conveyed to Gog, and other Portuguese settlements, by the kind exertions of the Jesuits and missionaries at Agra, who, notwithstanding all this calamity, continued in their dwelling, and were enabled to accomplish their benevolent purpose by the powerful aid of money, and the warm intercession of their friends,

Before the catastrophe at *Ogouli*, the missionaries had not escaped the resentment of *Chah-Jehan*: he ordered the large and handsome church at *Agra*, which, together with one at *Lahor*, had been erected during the reign of *Jehan-Guyre*, to be demolished. A high steeple stood upon this church, with a bell whose sound was heard in every part of the city.

Some time before the capture of Ogouli, the pirates

This was in 1629-30, and other reasons than those given by Bernier led to the action taken by Shah Jahan; such as the refusal of all and to him, when in 1621, as Prince Khurram, he had revolted against his father, the Emperor Jahangir, and applied to the Portuguese at High for assistance in the shape of soldiers and munitions of war.

made a formal offer to the Viceroy of Goa, to deliver the whole kingdom of Rakan into his hands. Bastian Consulte 1 was then chief of the pirates, and so celebrated and powerful was he, that he married the King of Rakan's daughter. It is said that the Viceroy was too arrogant and envious to listen to this proposal, and felt unwilling that the King of Partugal should be indebted to a man of low origin for so important an acquisition. There was nothing, however, in the proposal to excite surprise; it was quite in keeping with the general conduct of the Portuguese in Japan, Pegu, Ethiopia, and other places. The decay of their power in the Indies is fairly ascribable to their misdeeds, and may be considered, as they candidly allow, a proof of the divine displeasure. Formerly their name was a tower of strength; all the Indian princes courted their friendship, and the Portuguese were distinguished for courage, generosity, zeal for religion, immensity of wealth, and the splendonr of their exploits : but they were not then, like the Portuguese of the present day, addicted to every vice, and to every low and grovelling enjoyment.

The pirates, about the time of which I am speaking, made themselves masters of the island of Sondiva,2 an

Sundeep (Sandwip), off the coast of Chittagong, at the mouth of the Meghas, and described by the Venetian traveller Cesare de Federici (circu 1565), as being one of the most fertile places in the country, and that such was the abundance of materials for shipbuilding in the neighbourhood that the Sultan of Constantinople found it cheaper to have

his vessels built there than elsewhere.

³ Sebastian Gonzales Tibao, who had been a common sailor. According to Stewart (History of Bengal, Lond. 1813, p. 210), he married the Mugh's sitter who had become a Christian, and thus historian states that it was Anaporam, a brother of the King of Aracan, who, having been gulity of some misdementour when Governor of a province of that country, fled for refuge to Sundeep where he met Gonzales, whom he enlisted in his cruze. They invaded Aracan and were able to save the family of Anaporam and bring away a good deal of treasure. Anaporam then gave Gonzales a large sum of money and his sister in marriage, but shouly after that died, poisoned it is believed, and all his wealth fall into the hands of the pirate.

advantageous post, commanding part of the mouth of the Gauges. On this spot, the notorious Fra-Joan, an Augustine monk, reigned, as a petty Sovereign, during many years; having contrived, God knows how, to rid himself of the Governor of the island.

These also are the identical freebooters who, as we have seen, repaired in their galleases to Daka, for the purpose of conveying Sulian Sujah to Rokan. They found means of opening some of his chests, and robbing him of many precious stones, which were offered secretly for sale in Rokan and disposed of for a mere trifle. The diamonds all got into the hands of the Dulch and others, who easily persuaded the ignorant thieves that the stones were soft, and that they would pay for them only according to their hardness.

I have said enough to give an idea of the trouble, vexation and expense, to which the Mogol was for many years exposed by the unjust and violent proceedings of the pirates established in Rakan. He had always been under the necessity of guarding the inlets of the kingdom of Rengale, of keeping large bodies of troops and a fleet of galleasses on the alert. All these precautions, however, did not prevent the ravaging of his territories; the pirates were become so bold and skilful that with four or five galleasses they would attack, and generally capture or destroy, fourteen or fifteen of the Mogol's galleys.

The deliverance of Bengale from the cruel and incessant devastations of these barbarians was the immediate object of the expedition contemplated by Chah-hestkan upon his appointment to the government of that Kingdom. But he had an ulterior design,—that of attacking the King of Rakan, and punishing him for his cruelty to Sulian Sujah and his family, Aureng-Zehe having determined to avenge the murder of those illustrious personages, and, by a signal example, to teach his neighbours, that Princes of the

Blood Royal, in all situations and under all circumstances, must be treated with humanity and reverence.

Chak-heakan has accomplished his first plan with consummate address. It was scarcely practicable to march an army from Bengale into the kingdom of Rakan owing to the great number of rivers and channels that intersect the frontiers; and the naval superiority of the pirates rendered it still more difficult to transport an invading force by sea. It therefore occurred to him to apply to the Dutch for their co-operation, and with this view he sent an envoy to Batavia, with power to negotiate, on certain conditions, with the general commandant of that colony, for the joint occupation of the kingdom of Rakan; in the same manner as Chah-Abas treated formerly with the English in regard to Ormus.²

The Governor of Balavia was easily persuaded to enter into a scheme that offered an opportunity of still further depressing the Portuguese influence in the Indies, and from the success of which the Dutch company would derive important advantages. He despatched two ships of war to Bengale for the purpose of facilitating the conveyance of the Mogol's troops to Chatigon; but Chah-hent, in the meantime, had collected a large number of galleasser and other vessels of considerable tonnage, and threatened to overwhelm the pirates in irremediable ruin if they did not immediately submit to the Magal's authority. 'Aureng-Zebe is fixed in the resolution, said he to them, 'of chastising the King of Rakan, and a Dutch ficet, too powerful to be resisted, is near at hand. If you are wise, your personal safety and the care of your families will now engross all your attention; you will quit the service of the

¹ See p. 106, footnote 1.

The officers of Shah Abbas, who looked with a covetous and resentful eye on the Fortuguese occupation of Ormus, invoked the aid of the English Council at Surat, and on the 18th February 1622 the combined Persian and English forces laid siege to Ormus. The Portuguese, after a gallant resistance of five weeks, surrendered on the 1st May.

King of Rakan, and enter into that of Aureng-Zebe. In Bengale you shall have as much land allotted as you may deem necessary, and your pay shall be double that which you at present receive.'

The pirates about this period had assassinated one of the King of Rakan's principal officers, and it is not known whether they were more struck with terror by the punishment awaiting them for that crime, or moved by the promises and threats contained in Chah-hest's communication. Certain it is, however, that these unworthy Portuguess were one day seized with so strange a panic as to embark in forty or fifty galleasses and sail over to Bengale, and they adopted this measure with so much precipitation that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuable effects on board.

Chah-hestkan received these extraordinary visitors with open arms; gave them large sums of money; provided the women and children with excellent accommodation in the town of Daka, and after he had thus gained their confidence, the pirates evinced an eagerness to act in concert with the Mogol's troops, shared in the attack and capture of Sondiva, which island had fallen into the hands of the King of Rakan, and accompanied the Indian army from Sondien to Chatigon. Meanwhile the two Dutch ships of war made their appearance, and Chah-hestkan having thanked the commanders for their kind intentions, informed them that he had now no need of their services. I saw these vessels in Bengale, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Chah-hest treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chatigon; they and their families are in

According to Stewart (History of Bengal, p. 209) at a place about twelve miles below Duces, hence called Fringha Baser, where some of their descendants yet reside. The Fringshauer of Rennell's Plan of the Environs of the City of Duces, published in 1780.

his power; an occasion for their services no longer exists; he considers it, therefore, quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors, in whom it is folly to confide; wretches who have basely betrayed the Prince whose salt they had eaten for many years.

In this manner has Chah-hestkan extinguished the power of these seoundrels in Chatigon; who, as I have already said, had depopulated and ruined the whole of Loner Bengale. Time will show whether his enterprise against the King of Rakan will be crowned with similar success.

FOURTHLY. Respecting the two sons of Aureng-Zebe, Sultan Mahmond and Sultan Mazum, the former is still confined in Goualeor; but, if we are to believe the general report, without being made to drink pount, the beverage usually given to the inmates of that fortress." Sultan Mazum appears to comport himself with his accustomed prudence and moderation, although the transaction I am about to relate is perhaps an evidence that this Prince during the dangerous illness of his father had carried on secret intrigues, or that the displeasure of Aureng-Zebe was excited by some other circumstance unknown to the public. It may be, however, that, without any reference to the past, the King was only anxious to obtain authentic proof both of his son's obedience and of his courage, when he commanded him, in a full assembly of Omrahs, to kill a lion which had descended from the mountains and was then laying waste the surrounding country. The Grand Master of the Hunt | ventured to hope that Sullan Manum

³ For an exceedingly valuable account of the Feringhees of Chittagong and their present state, and what has led to their decline, see pp. 57-39 of The Calcutta Review, vol. liii., 1871.

^{*} The enterprise was eventually successful, and the Province of Aracan appeared to the Kingdom of Bengal.

Bec p. 106, footnote !.

^{*} The Affr Childer, an important officer at the Mogul Court, corresponding to our Chief Ranger of old days.

might be permitted to avail himself of those capacious nets which are ordinarily made use of in so perilous a chase.\(^1\) He shall attack the lion without nets,\(^1\) sternly replied the King. When I was Prince I thought not of such precautions.\(^1\) An order given in so decisive a tone could not be disobeyed. The Prince declined not the fearful undertaking; he encountered and overcame the tremendous beast with the loss of only two or three men; some horses were mangled, and the wounded lion bounded on the head of the Sullan's elephant. Since this strange adventure, Aureng-Zehe has behaved to his son with the utmost affection, and has even raised him to the government of the Decam It must be owned, however, that Sullan Macun is so limited in authority\(^2\) and circumscribed in pecuniary means, that he cannot occasion much uneasiness to his father.

Firther. The next personage I would recall to the recollection of my readers is Mohabet-Kan, the governor of Kaloul. He was induced at length to resign the government of that province, and Aureng-Zebe generously refused to punish him, declaring that the life of such a soldier was invaluable, and that he deserved commendation for his fidelity to his benefactor Chah-Jehan. The King even nominated him Governor of Guzarate instead of Jessomseingue, who was sent to the seat of war in the Decan. It is true that a few costly presents may have disposed the Mogol's mind in Mohabet's favour; for besides what he gave to Rauchenara-Begum, he sent the King fifteen or sixteen thousand golden roupies and a considerable number of Persian horses and camels.

The mention of Kaboul reminds me of the adjacent kingdom of Kandahar, at present tributary to Persia; to

¹ See pp. 378, 379.

² It was in 1665 that Prince Muhammad Muarram was made Súladar of the Deccan and given the command of the troops then being employed against Sivaji.
³ See p. 70.

Mahábat Khán was the second son of the celebrated Mahábat Khán of Jahángir's reign, and is said to have died in 1674 when on his way from Kabul to the presence.

the subject of which I ought to devote one or two pages. Much ignorance prevails concerning that country, as well as on the political feeling which it creates between the governments of Persia and Hadoustum. The name of the capital is also Kandahar, which is the stronghold of this rich and fine kingdom. The desire of possessing the capital has been, for some ages, the cause of sanguinary wars between the Mogols and Persians. The great Ekhar wrested it from the latter,1 and kept it during the remainder of his reign. Chah-Abas the celebrated King of Persia took the city from Jehan-Guyre, the son of Ehbar; and the treachery of the Governor Aly Merdankan's delivered it into the hands of Chah-Jehun the son of Jehan-Guyre. Aly Merdan immediately placed himself under the protection of his new Sovereign; he had many enemies in his own country, and was too prudent to obey the summons of the Persian monarch, who called upon him to give an account of his government. Kandahar was again besieged and captured by the son of Chah-Abas,4 and afterwards twice unsuccessfully attacked by Chah-Jehan. The first failure was owing to the bad conduct or the perfidy of the Persian owrahs in the Great Mogol's service, the most powerful noblemen of his court, and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a shameful lukewarmness during the siege, refusing to follow the Raja Roup who had already planted his stan-

1 In 1594. 2 In 1622.

Ali Mardán Khin, a Persian, was governor of Kandahar under Sháh Sail, who it is said, treated him so cruelly that in despair he gave up the place in 1637 to Sháh Jahán, who received him well at Delhi, to which city he had returned. Ali Mardán Khán was a most capable administrator, and was at various times made Governor of Kabal and Kashmir, and has left behind him various monuments of his skill as a constructor of public works, notably the canal at Delhi, which bears his name, and, somewhat remodelled, is in use at the present day. It is said that he introduced the Chemar (Oriental plane-tree) into Kashmir. He died in 1657 when on his way to Kashmir, and was buried at Lahore.

dard on the wall nearest to the mountain. Aureng-Zebe's jealousy occasioned the second failure. He would not storm the breach which the cannon of the Franks-English, Portuguese, Germans, and French-had rendered sufficiently practicable; because the enterprise had originated with Dara, at that time with his father in the city of Kaboul, and he felt unwilling that his brother should have the credit of so valuable an acquisition. Chah-Jehan, a few years before the late troubles, seemed on the point of besieging Kandahar for the third time, but was deterred from the enterprise by Emir-Jemla, who, as we have stated, advised the Mogol to send his army to the Decan.1 Aly Merdankan seconded with great earnestness the Emir's arguments, and addressed the King in these extraordinary words :- 'Your Majesty will never succeed in taking Kandahar, unless her gates be opened by such a traitor as myself; or unless you determine to exclude all Persians from the besieging army, and issue a proclamation promising entire freedom to the bazaars; that is, exempting them from the payment of any duty on provisions brought for the use of the army.' A few years ago Aureng-Zebe, following the example of his predecessors, made preparations for the attack of this celebrated city, being offended with the letter written by the King of Persia, or with the ungracious reception experienced by his ambassador, Tarbiet-Kan,2 at the Persian court : but he heard of the King's death, and abandoned the project; feeling reluctant, as he pretended, to act with hostility against a child just seated on the throne; although Chah-Soliman, who succeeded his father, cannot, I think, be less than five-and-twenty years of age.

Sixtney. I would now say something of the warm par-

1 See pp. 22, 23.

^{*} Probably Shaff-ulláh Khán, who had had conferred upon him the title of Tarbiat Khán Barlas, a native of Persia who came to India and served under Sháh Jahán and Aurengaeb. He died at Jaunpur, of which he was Governor, in 1685.

tisans of Aureng-Zebe, most of whom have been promoted to situations of high trust and dignity. His uncle Chahheatkan was made, as we have mentioned, Governor and Commander-in-chief in the Decan; subsequently this nobleman was made governor of Bengale. Mir-Kan obtained the government of Kaboul; Kalilullah-Kan that of Lahor; Mirbaba, of Elabas; Luskerkan, of Paina; and the son1 of that Allah-rerdi-Kan, whose advice cost Sullan Sujah the battle of Kadjoue, was made Governor of Sciendy. Fazelkan, whose counsels and address had been essentially useful to Aureng-Zebr, was invested with the office of Kane-saman,2 or Grand Chamberlain of the royal household. Dancehmend-Kan was appointed Governor of Dehli; and, in consideration of his studious habits, and the time which he necessarily devotes to the affairs of the foreign department, he is exempted from the ancient ceremony of repairing twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of sainting the King; the omission of which, subjects other Omralis to a pecuniary penalty. To Dianct-Kan, Aureng-Zebe has intrusted the government of Kachmire, a little kingdom nearly inaccessible, and considered the terrestrial paradise of the Indies. Ekbar became possessed of that delightful country by stratagem. It boasts of authentic histories, in its own vernacular tongue, containing an interesting account of a long succession of ancient kings; sometimes so powerful as to have reduced to subjection the whole of Hindonsian, as far as the island of Ceylon. Of these histories Jehan Guyre caused an abridgment to be made in the Persian language; and of this I procured a copy .-It is proper to mention in this place that Aureng-Zehe cashiered Nejabatkan, who greatly distinguished himself in the battles of Samonguer and Kadjoue; but he seems

³ Jafar Khán, appointed Subadar of Allahabad, where he died in 1669 (Beats).

² Properly Khánsámán, a Persian word meaning a house steward. Now applied, in Northern India, to the chief table-servant and purveyor in Angio-Indian households.

to have brought that disgrace upon himself by continually dwelling upon the services he had rendered the King. As to those infamous individuals, Gionkan and Nazer, the well-deserved fate of the former has been recounted; but what subsequently became of Nazer is not ascertained.

In regard to Jessonseingue and Jesseingue, there is some obscurity which I shall endeavour to clear up. A revolt

had taken place, headed by a gentile of Visapour, who made himself master of several important fortresses and one or two seaports belonging to the King of that country. The name of this bold adventurer is Sera-Gi, or Lord Seva.1 He is vigilant, enterprising, and wholly regardless of personal safety. Chah-hestkan, when in the Decan, found in him an enemy more formidable than the King of Visapour at the head of his whole army and joined by those Rajas who usually unite with that prince for their com-



Fig. 2.—Sividi.

mon defence. Some idea may be formed of Scra-Gi's intrepidity by his attempt to seize Chah-hestkan's person, together with all his treasures, in the midst of his troops, and surrounded by the walls of Aureng-Abad. Attended by a few soldiers he one night penetrated into Chah-hestkan's apartment, and would have succeeded in his object had he remained undetected a short time longer. Chah-hest was severely wounded, and his son was killed in the act of

¹ See pp. 136-37 test, and footnote 3 on p. 135-

drawing his sword. Secu-Gi soon engaged in another daring expedition, which proved more successful. Placing himself at the head of two or three thousand men, the flower of his army, he silently withdrew from his camp, and pretended during the march to be a Raja going to the Mogol's court. When within a short distance of Sourale, he met the Grand Provoit of the country,1 on whom he imposed the belief that he intended to prosecute his journey without entering the town; but the plunder of that famous and wealthy port was the principal object of the expedition; he rushed into the place sword in hand, and remained nearly three days, torturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches. Burning what he could not take away, Seea-Gi returned without the least opposition, laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions; with pearls, silken stuffs, fine cloths, and a variety of other costly merchandise. A secret understanding, it was suspected, existed between Jessomseingue and Seva-Gi, and the former was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Chah-hest as well as the attack of Sourate. The Raja was therefore recalled from the Decan, but instead of going to Dehli, he returned to his own territories.

I forgot to mention that during the pillage of Sourate, Seva-Gi, the Holy Seva-Gi! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. 'The Frankish Padrys are good men,' he said, 'and shall not be molested.' He spared also the house of a deceased Delale or Gentile broker,' of the Datch, because assured that he

⁷ The appointment of Broker (Hindostance dulli) was an exceedingly important one. Tavernier, in chapter xiv. of his Travels, vol. ii. pp. 33, 71, entitled 'Concerning the Methods to be observed for

In the original 'grand Prevost de la campagne.' Valentyn calls him the 'Stadsvoogd' and says that they met at 'Utena, a village about one and a half miles from the town.' The official was most likely the Kotwil or commandant of the fort, and this rendering agrees with Bernier's narrative (see p. 369) where he talks of the Cetokal, gul cit comme is grand Prevoit (of the Mogul's camp).

had been very charitable while alive. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped his visits, not in consequence of any reverential feeling on his part, but because those people had displayed a great deal of resolution, and defended themselves well. The English especially, assisted by the crews of their vessels, performed wonders, and saved not only their own houses but those of their neighbours. The pertinacity of a Jew.

establishing a new Commercial Company in the East Indies,' insisting upon the importance of securing for this post the services of one 'who should be a native of the country, an idolater and not a Muhammadan, because all the workmen with whom he will have to do are idolaters. Good manners and probity are above all things necessary in order to acquire confidence at first among these people.'

Tavernier also gives some interesting details regarding the Dalkil whose house was spared by Sivaji (Travels, vol. ii. p. 204), where he tells us that 'In the month of January of the year 1661 the Sivajf or money-changer of the Datch Company, named Monpas Paren, died at Surart. He was a rich man and very charitable, having bestowed much alms during his life on the Christians as well as on the lifelaters: the Rev. Capuchin Fathers of Surart living for a part of the year on the tice, butter, and vegetables which he sent them.

In the first English translation of this book, the passage about the dalless is translated as follows: 'He had also regard to the Hodse of the Decement De Lale,' a rendering which has been followed in other editions.

¹ Sir George Oxindon (thus he signed his name, as may be seen from records in the India Office, not Oxendon, or Oxendine, as frequently printed) was then Chief Factor or President, 'In whose time Seve Gi plander'd Surai; but he defended himself and the Marchanta so bravely, that he had a Collat or Serprom, a Robe of Honour from Head to Foot, offered him from the Genet Megul, with an Abstement of Customs to Two and a helf per med, granted to the Company; for which his Mastera, as a token of the high Sense they had of his Valour, presented him a Medal of Geld with this Device:

Non minor est virtus youm quaerere parta esers.'

Fryet's A Now Account of East India, etc., ed. Cronka (Haklayt Soc.), i. 223.

Oxindon was appointed chief of the English Factory at Surat, on the 18th September 1662, and he died there on the 14th July 1669, aged fifty. His elaborate manuscleum forms the most prominent object in the old English crimetery at Surat. a native of Constantinople, astonished everybody. Scra-Gi knew that he was in possession of most valuable rubies, which he intended to sell to Aureng-Zebe; but he persevered in stoutly denying the fact, although three times placed on his knees to receive the stroke of a sword flourished over his head. This conduct was worthy of a Jew, whose love of money generally exceeds his love of life.

Aureng-Zebe prevalled with Jesseingue to take the command of the army in the Decan, attended by Sultan Manua, who, however, was not invested with any authority. The Raja's first operation was vigorously to attack Seva-Gi's principal fortress; but he had recourse. at the same time, to his favourite art, negotiation, which he brought to a favourable issue, as the place surrendered by capitulation long before it was reduced to extremity. Seca-Gi having consented to make common cause with the Mogol against Visupour, Aureng-Zebe proclaimed him a Raja, took him under his protection, and granted an omrah's pension to his son. Some time afterwards, the King meditating a war against Persia, wrote to Sera-Gi in such kind and flattering terms, and extolled his generosity. talents and conduct so highly, as to induce him to meet the Mogol at Dehli, Jesseingue having plighted his faith for the chieftain's security. Chah-hestkan's wife, a relation of Aureng-Zebe's, happened to be then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Sourate.1 The result was that Seva-Gi, observing that his tents were watched by three or four ourals, effected his escape in disguise under favour of night. This circumstance caused great uneasiness in the palace, and Jesseingue's eldest son, being strongly suspected of baving assisted Seva-Gi in his flight, was forbidden to appear at court. Aureng-Zebe felt, or

Surat in those days being the place of embarkation of pilgrims to Mecca was looked upon as a sacred place by the Moslems of Iadia. It was then sometimes called Bdb all Mathab, or the Gate of Mecca.

seemed to feel, equally irritated against the father and the son, and Jesseingue, apprehending that he might avail himself of this pretext to seize his territories, abandoned his command in the Decan and hastened to the defence of his dominions, but he died on his arrival at Brampour.\(^1\)

The kindness shown by the Magai to the Raja's son,\(^2\)
when apprised of this melancholy event; his tender condolences, and the grant to him of the pension enjoyed by the father, confirm many persons in the opinion that Seva-Gi did not escape without the connivance of Aureng-Zebe himself. His presence at court must indeed have greatly embarrassed the King, since the hatred of the women was most fierce and rancorous against him: they considered him as a monster who had imbued his hands in the blood of friends and kinsmen.\(^2\)

But here let us take a consory review of the history of the Decan, a kingdom that, during more than forty years, has constantly been the theatre of war, and owing to which the Mogol is so frequently embroiled with the King of Golkonda, the King of Visapour, and several other less powerful sovereigns. The nature of the quarrels in that part of Hindonsian cannot be well understood while we remain ignorant of the chief occurrences and have only an imperfect knowledge of the condition of the Princes by whom the country is governed.

Burhappur, " Ram Singh.

Fryer's account (ep. cit. vol. ii. p. 65) of these transactions agrees with Betnier's narrative in many particulars, and with regard to Siviji's escape from Dehli (Agra according to Fryer), he says that Aurangaeh, 'desirous to try if by Kindness be could reclaim this famous Rebel, allures him to Court (Faith being plighted for his Safety), where shortly after, the Outeries of the Women in whose Kindred's Blood his hands were imbrued, made him shift for himself in an Hamper on a Porter's Back, which passed the Guards among many others, which were forced to be sent as Pinnakur's [Peshcosh, Persian penh-inus, a present to a great man, etc.] 'to his Friends, as the manner is when under Confinement: With this Slight be got away (not without the Majur's Privity), and 'tis believed will hardly venture to Agra again, unless better guarded.'

Two centuries have scarcely elapsed since the great peninsula of India, stretching from the Gulf of Cambane on the west to the Gulf of Bengale near Jagannate on the east, and extending southerly to Cape Camori,1 was, with the exception perhaps of a few mountainous tracts, under the domination of one arbitrary despot. The indiscretion of Raia, or King, Ram-ras, the last Prince under whom it was united, caused the dismemberment of this vast monarchy, and this is the reason why it is now divided among many sovereigns professing different religious, flam-rux had three Georgian slaves in his service, whom he distinguished by every mark of favour, and at length nominated to the Government of three considerable districts. One was appointed governor of nearly the whole of the territory in the Decan which is now in the possession of the Mogol; Daulet-Abad was the capital of that government, which extended from Bider, Paranda a and Sourate as far as Narbadar. The territory now forming the kingdom of Visapour was the portion of the second favourite: and the third obtained the country comprehended in the present kingdom of Golkonda. These three slaves became extremely rich and powerful, and as they professed the Mahometan faith and declared themselves of the Chyas seet, which is that of the Persians, they received the countenance and support of a great number of Mogols in the service of Ram-ras. They could not. even if so disposed, have embraced the religion of the Gentiles, because the gentiles of India admit no stranger to the participation of their mysteries. A rebellion, in which the three Georgian slaves united, terminated in the murder of Ram-ras, after which they returned to their respective governments, and usurped the title of Chak, or King. Ram-ras's children, incapable of contending with these men, remained quietly in the country known

The old and correct form for Comorin; see p. 23, footnote !.

^{*} Paramihar, 20 miles south-east of Poons city, now a sanitarium for European troops.

commonly by the name of the Karnateck, and called on our maps Birnaguer,1 where their posterity are Rajas to this day. The remainder of the Peninsula was split at the same time into all those smaller states still existing, governed by Rajas, Naiques,2 and other Kinglets. While the three Slaves and their successors preserved a good understanding with each other, they were able to defend their kingdoms, and to wage wars on a large scale against the Mogols; but when the seeds of jealousy were sown among them, and they chose to act as independent sovereigns who stood in no need of foreign assistance, they experienced the fatal effects of disunion. Thirty-five or forty years ago, the Mogol, availing himself of their differences, invaded the dominions of Nejam-Chah, or King Nejam, the fifth or sixth in succession from the first Slave and made himself master of the whole country.2 Nejam died a prisoner in Daulet-Abad, his former capital.4

Since that period, the Kings of Golkonda have been preserved from invasion, not in consequence of their great strength, but of the employment given to the Magal by the two sister kingdoms, and of the necessity he was under to capture their strong places, such as Amber, Paranda, Bider and others, before Golkonda could be prudently attacked. The safety of those Kings may also be ascribed to the wisdom of their policy. Possessing great wealth, they have always secretly supplied the monarch of Visapour with money, to enable him to defend his country; so that whenever the latter is threatened.

Vijayanagar (Bijianuggur). The site of the ancient capital of this kingdom, whose rains cover nine square miles, la Hampl in the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency, thirty-six miles north-west of Bellary.

Naik, from the Sanskrit adjudit, a leader or chief. The title was given to provincial ruless or governors under the kings of Vijeyanagar. See 'The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura' (Ind. Ant., 1914, pp. 1 foll.).

² Daulatabad was captured in 1632.

^{*} It is stated in the Eddieds miss of Abdul Hamid Lahori, that Nimm Shah was confined in the fort of Gwalior.

the King of Golkanda invariably marches an army to the frontiers, to show the Mogol not only that preparations are made for internal defence, but that an ally is at hand to assist Visapour, if driven to extremity. It appears likewise that the government of Golkonda employs large sums as bribes to the generals of the Mogol's army, who therefore constantly give it as their opinion that Visapour ought to be attacked rather than Golkonda, on account of its greater proximity to Daulet-Abad. Indeed, after the convention concluded, as we have seen, between Aureng-Zebe and the present King of Golkonda, the former has no great inducement to march troops into that kingdom, which he probably considers as his own. It has been long tributary to the Mogol, to whom it presents annually a considerable quantity of hard cash, home-manufactured articles of exquisite workmanship, and elephants imported from Pegu, Siam, and Ceylon. There is now no fortress between Daulet-Abad and Golkonda capable of offering any resistance, and Aureng-Zebe feels confident, therefore, that a single campaign would suffice to conquer the country. In my own opinion, nothing has restrained him from attempting that conquest but the apprehension of having the Decan overrun by the King of Visapour, who knows that if he permits his neighbour to fall, his own destruction must be the necessary consequence.

From what I have said, some idea may be formed of the present state of the King of Golkonda in relation to the Mogol. There can be no doubt that his power is held by a most uncertain tenure. Since the nefarious transaction in Golkonda, planned by Emir-Jemla and executed by Aureng-Zebe, the King has lost all mental energy, and has ceased to hold the reins of government. He never appears in public to give audience and administer justice according to the custom of the country; nor does he venture outside the walls of the fortress of Golkonda. Confusion and misrule are the natural and unavoidable

¹ See p. 16, et sey.

consequences of this state of things. The granders, totally disregarding the commands of a Monarch for whom they no longer feel either affection or respect, exercise a disgusting tyranny; and the people, impatient to throw off the galling yoke, would gladly submit to the more equitable government of Aureng-Zebe.

I shall advert to five or six facts that prove the low state of degradation to which this wretched King is reduced.

First.—When I was at Golkonda, in the year 1667, an ambassador extraordinary arrived from Aureng-Zebe, for the purpose of declaring war, unless the King supplied the Magal with ten thousand cavalry to act against Visapour. This force was not indeed granted; but, what pleased Aureng-Zebe still better, as much money was given as is considered sufficient for the maintenance of such a body of cavalry. The King paid extravagant honours to this ambassador and loaded him with valuable presents, both for himself and the Magal his master.

Second.—Aureng-Zebe's ordinary ambassador at the court of Golkonda issues his commands, grants passports, menaces and ill-treats the people, and in short, speaks and acts with the uncontrolled authority of an absolute sovereign.

Third.—Emir-Jemla's son, Mahmet-Emir-Kan, although nothing more than one of Aureng-Zebe's Omrahs, is so much respected in Golkonda, and chiefly in Maslipatam 1 that the taptopa, his agent or broker, virtually acts as master of the port. He buys and sells, admits and clears out cargoes, free of every impost and without any person's intervention. So boundless was the father's influence formerly in this country, that it has descended to the son as a matter of right or necessity.

Fourth.—Sometimes the Dutch presume to lay an embargo on all the Golkonda merchant-vessels in the port, nor will they suffer them to depart until the King comply with their demands. I have known them even protest

¹ Manulipatum (Machlipatuam), see p. 112, footnote ¹.

against the King because the Governor of Maslipatam prevented them from taking forcible possession of an English ship in the port, by arming the whole population, threatening to burn the Dutch factory, and to put all these insolent foreigners to the sword.

Fifth.—Another symptom of decay in this kingdom is the debased state of the current coin; which is extremely

prejudicial to the commerce of the country.

Sixth.—A sixth instance I would adduce of the fallen power of the King of Golkonda is, that the Portuguese, wretched, poor, and despised as they are become, scruple not to menace him with war, and with the capture and pillage of Maslipatam and other towns if he refuse to cede San Thomé, a place which these same Portuguese, a few years ago, voluntarily resigned into his hands to avoid the disgrace of yielding it to the superior power of the Dutch.

Many intelligent persons, however, assured me, when I was in Golkonda, that the King is by no means devoid of understanding; that this appearance of weakness and indecision and of indifference to the affairs of government is assumed for the purpose of deceiving his enemies; that he has a son concealed from the public eye, of an ardent and aspiring spirit, whom he intends to place on the throne at a favourable juncture, and then to violate his treaty with Aureng-Zebe. Leaving it to time to decide upon the soundness of these opinions, we shall proceed to say a few words about Visapour.

That country, though it has to contend frequently with the Mogol, still preserves the name of an independent kingdom. The truth is, that the generals employed against Visapour, like commanders employed in every other service, are delighted to be at the head of an army, ruling at a distance from the court with the authority of kings. They conduct every operation, therefore, with

² St. Thomas' Mount, which still contains several remains of the Portuguese settlement.

languor, and avail themselves of any pretext for the prolongation of war which is alike the source of their emolument and dignity. It is become a proverbial saying, that the Decan is the bread and support of the soldiers of Hindonstan.1 It should also be observed, that the kingdom of Visapour abounds with almost impregnable fortresses in mountainous situations, and that the country on the side of the Great Mogol's territories is of a peculiarly difficult access, owing to the searcity both of forage and of good wholesame water. The capital is extremely strong; situated in an arid and sterile soil, and pure and

palatable water is found only within the gates.

Visapour, however, is verging toward dissolution. The Mogol has made himself master of Paranda,2 the key of the kingdom; of Bider,3 a strong and handsome town, and of other important places. The death of the King without male issue must also operate unfavourably on the future concerns of this country. The throne is filled by a young man, educated, and adopted as her son, by the Queen, sister of the King of Golkonda, who, by the by, has been ill requited for her kindness. She returned recently from Mecca, and experienced a cold and insulting reception; the young monarch pretending that her conduct on board the Dutch vessel which conveyed her to Moka was unbecoming both her sex and rank. It is even said that she was criminally connected with two or three of the crew, who shandoned the vessel at Moka for the purpose of accompanying the Queen to Mecca.

Seva-Gi, the gentile leader lately spoken of, profiting by the distracted state of the kingdom, has seized upon many strongholds, situated for the most part in the moun-

The fort was treucherously surrendered to the Mogul about the

year 1635.

¹ Or, as Fryer puts it (il. 51), 'frustrated chiefly by the means of the Soldiery and great Ombroks, who live Lazily and in Pay, whereupon they term Duccan, The Bread of the Military Men."

Bidas was captured in 1653.

tains.1 This man is exercising all the powers of an independent sovereign; laughs at the threats both of the Mogul and of the King at Visapour; makes frequent incursions, and ravages the country on every side, from Sourate to the gates of Goa. Yet it cannot be doubted that, notwithstanding the deep wounds which from time to time he inflicts upon Visapour, the kingdom finds in this daring chieftain a seasonable and powerful coadjutor. He distracts the attention of Aureng-Zebe by his bold and never-ceasing enterprises, and affords so much employment to the Indian armies, that the Mogol cannot find the opportunity of achieving the conquest of Visapour. How to put down Seca-Gi is become the object of chief importance. We have seen his success at Sourate; he afterwards captured the Portuguese settlement of Bardes, an island contiguous to Gon.

Seventury. It was after I had left Dehli, on my return [to France], that I heard, at Golkondo, of the death of Chah-Jehan,2 and that Aureng-Zebe seemed much affected by the event, and discovered all the marks of grief which a son can express for the loss of his father. He set out immediately for Agra, where Begum Saheb received him with distinguished honour. She hung the mosque with tapestries of rich brocades, and in the same manner decorated the place where the Mogol intended to alight before he entered the fortress. On arriving at the women's apart-

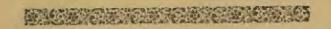
3 He died on the 22d January 1666, and lies buried in the Tap, close

by the grave of his wife, the 'Lady of the Taj.'

^{3 .} Tis understable he bath taken and maintains against the Megalia Sixty odd strong Hills: But the Cause is, the Maguis are unacquainted with, and their Bodies untit for such barren and uneasy Places; so that they rather chuse to desert than defend them: Whereby it is sufficiently evident Sava Gr is unable in the Plain to do anything but Rob, Spoil, and return with all the speed imaginable : And on that account it is Aurangues calls him his Mountain-Rat, with which the greatest Systems of Monarchy in the World, though continued by an ansuterrupted Descent of Imperial Ancestry, have ever been infeated, finding it more hard to fight with Mountains than Men. - Fryer, fl. 58.

ment in the scraglio, the princess presented him with a large golden basin, full of precious stones—her own jewels, and those which belonged to Chah Jehan. Moved by the magnificence of his reception, and the affectionate protestations of his sister, Aureng-Zebe forgave her former conduct and has since treated her with kindness and liberality.

I have now brought this history to a close. My readers have no doubt condemned the means by which the reigning Mogol attained the summit of power. These means were indeed unjust and cruel; but it is not perhaps fair to judge him by the rigid rules which we apply to the character of European princes. In our quarter of the globe, the succession to the crown is settled in favour of the eldest by wise and fixed laws; but in Hindoustan the right of governing is usually disputed by all the sons of the deceased monarch, each of whom is reduced to the eruel alternative of sacrificing his brothers, that he himself may reign, or of suffering his own life to be forfeited for the security and stability of the dominion of another. Yet even those who may maintain that the circumstances of country, birth and education afford no pallistion of the conduct pursued by Aureng-Zebe, must admit that this Prince is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King.



LETTER

TO MONSEIGNEUR

COLBERT

Concerning the Extent of Hindoustan, the Currency towards, and finnt absorption of gold and silver in that country; its Resources, Armics, the administration of Justice, and the principal Cause of the Decline of the States of Asia.



In Asia, the great are never approached empty-handed. When I had the honour to kiss the garment of the great Mogol Aureng-Zebe (Ornament of the Throne), I presented him with eight roupies, as a mark of respect; and I offered a knife-case, a fork and a pen-knife mounted in amber to the illustrious Facel Kan (The Accomplished Knight), a Minister charged with the weightiest concerns of the empire, on whose decision depended the amount of my salary as physician. Though I presume not, My Lord, to introduce new customs into France, yet I cannot be expected, so soon after my return from Hindowstan, to lose all remembrance of the practice just mentioned, and hope I shall be pardoned for hesitating to appear

² One suspic is worth about thirty sols.—Bernier. [Taking the sol as equal to 0.9 of a penny English, in 1670, one 'rouple' equalled 25, 3d., which agrees with Tavernier's value.]

in the presence of a King who inspires me with very different feelings than did Aureng-Zebe; or before you, My Lord,1 who deserve my respect much more than Fazelkan, without some small offering, which may derive value from its novelty, if not from the hand that bestows it. The late revolution in Hindousian, so full of extraordinary events, may be deemed worthy the attention of our great Monarch; and this letter, considering the importance of its matter, may not be unsuitable to the rank you bear in his Majesty's conneil. It seems, indeed, addressed with propriety to one whose measures have so admirably restored order in many departments which, before my departure from France, I feared were irremediably confused; to one who has evinced so much anxiety to make known to the ends of the earth the character of our sovereign, and of what the French people are capable in the execution of whatever you project for their benefit and glory.

It was in Hindousian, My Lord, whither your fame extends, and from which country I am lately returned after an absence of twelve years, that I first became acquainted with the happiness of France, and with the share which you have had in promoting it, by your unwearied attention and brilliant abilities. This is a theme on which I could fondly dwell; but why should I expatiate on facts already and universally admitted, when my present purpose is to treat of those which are new and anknown? It will be more agreeable to you if I proceed, according to my promise, to furnish such materials as may enable your lordship to form some idea of the actual state of the Indies.

The maps of Asia point out the mighty extent of the Great Mogol's empire, known commonly by the name of the Indies, or Hindonstan. I have not measured it with mathematical exactness; but judging from the ordinary

¹ Jean Baptiste Colbert, born in 1619 and died in 1653, Finance Minister to Louis XIV. of France, who is the king referred to.

rate of travel, and considering that it is a journey of three months from the frontier of the kingdom of Golkonda to Kazni, or rather beyond it, near to Kandakar, which is the first town in Perzia, the distance between those two extreme points cannot be less than five hundred French leagues, or five times as far as from Paris to Lyons.

It is important to observe, that of this vast tract of country, a large portion is extremely fertile; the large kingdom of Bengule, for instance, surpassing Egypt itself, not only in the production of rice, corn, and other necessaries of life, but of innumerable articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt; such as silks, cotton, and indigo. There are also many parts of the Indies, where the population is sufficiently abundant, and the land pretty well tilled; and where the artisan, although naturally indolent, is yet compelled by necessity or otherwise to employ himself in manufacturing carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloths, and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the country or exported abroad.

It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in Hindoustan. Of the quantity drawn from America, and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way, through various channels, to Turkey, for the payment of commodities imported from that country; and a part passes into Persia, by way of Smyrna, for the silks laden at that port. Turkey cannot dispense with the coffee, which she receives from Yeman, or Arabia Felix; and the productions of the Indies are equally necessary to Turkey, Yemen, and Persia. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to Moka, on the Red Sea, near Babel-mandel; to Bassora, at the top of the Persian Gulf; and to Bander Abassi or Gomeron, near

¹ Ghazni.

² Cauvé in the original, from the Arabic kadawa, see p. 364, footnote 4.

Ormus; which gold and silver is exported to Hindonstan by the vessels that arrive every year, in the mausem, or the season of the winds, at those three celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the Indian vessels, whether they belong to the Indians themselves, or to the Dutch, or English, or Portuguese; which every year carry cargoes of merchandise from Hindonstan to Pegu, Tanasseri, 1 Siam, Ceylon, Achem,2 Macassar, the Maldives, to Mosambic, and other places, bring back to Hindoustan from those countries a large quantity of the precious metals, which share the fate of those brought from Moka, Bassora, and Bander-Abassi. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from Japan, where there are mines, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into Hindonston; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from Portugal or from France, seldom leaves the country, returns being made in merchandise.

I am aware it may be said, that Hindoustan is in want of copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, clephants, and other things, with which she is supplied by the Dutch from Japan, the Moluccas, Ceylon, and Europe;—that she obtains lead from abroad, in part from England; broadcloths and other articles from France;—that she is in need of a considerable number of foreign horses, receiving annually more than five-and-twenty thousand from Usbec, a great many from Persia by way of Kandahar, and several from Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia, by sea, through the ports of Moka, Bassora, and Bander-Abassi. It may also be observed that Hindoustan consumes an immense quantity of fresh fruit from Samarkand, Bali, Bocara, and Persia; such as melons, apples, pears and grapes, eaten at Dehli and

¹ For Tenamerim, now the southern division of the Province of Lower Burmah, the Burmese name is Ta-neng-tha-ri.

Acheen, the celebrated emporium at the north of the itland of Sumatra.

² Thus in original; probably a misprint for Ball (Balkh).

purchased at a very high price nearly the whole winter;—and likewise dried fruit, such as almonds, pistachio and various other small nuts, plums, apricots, and raisins, which may be procured the whole year round;—that she imports a small sea-shell from the Maldives, used in Hengale, and other places, as a species of small money; ambergris from the Maldives and Mozambie; rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, and slaves from Ethiopia; musk and porcelain from China, and pearls from Beharen, and Tutucoury, near Ceylon; and I know not what quantity of other similar wares, which she might well do without.

The importation of all these articles into Hindoustan does not, however, occasion the export of gold and silver; because the merchants who bring them find it advantageous to take back, in exchange, the productions of the country.

Supplying itself with articles of foreign growth or manufacture, does not, therefore, prevent *Hindonatan* from absorbing a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return.

It should also be borne in mind, that the Great Mogol constitutes himself heir of all the Omraks, or lords, and likewise of the Mansebdars, or inferior lords, who are in his pay; and, what is of the utmost importance, that he is proprietor of every acre of land in the kingdom, excepting, perhaps, some houses and gardens which he sometimes permits his subjects to buy, sell, and otherwise dispose of, among themselves.

⁸ Tuticorin, the scaport in the Tinnevelli District, Madras Presidency, formerly in the handa of the Portuguese, then of the Dutch, has still a considerable foreign trade, the value of which ranks next to that of

Madras, and the sixth in all India.

¹ The island of El-Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf, still the site of a great pearl-fishery. The name, literally the Two Seas, probably owes its origin to the notion that the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Omân meet there. It is used in the sense of raxes abbihagous in Acts arvit. 41, 'And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground.'

I think I have shown that the precious metals must abound in *Hindoustan*, although the country be destitute of mines; and that the *Great Mogol*, lord and master of the greater part, must necessarily be in the receipt of an immense revenue, and possess incalculable wealth.

But there are many circumstances to be considered, as forming a counterpoise to these riches.

First .- Of the vast tracts of country constituting the empire of Hindoustan, many are little more than sand, or barren mountains, badly cultivated, and thinly peopled; and even a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from want of labourers; many of whom perish in consequence of the bad treatment they experience from the Governors. These poor people, when incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are bereft of their children, who are carried away as slaves. Thus it happens that many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country, and seek a more tolerable mode of existence, either in the towns, or camps; as bearers of burdens, carriers of water, or servants to horsemen. Sometimes they fly to the territories of a Raja, because there they find less oppression, and are allowed a greater degree of comfort.

Second.—The empire of the Great Mogol comprehends several nations, over which he is not absolute master. Most of them still retain their own peculiar chiefs or sovereigns, who obey the Mogol or pay him tribute only by compulsion. In many instances this tribute is of trifling amount; in others none is paid; and I shall adduce instances of nations which, instead of paying, receive tribute.

The petty sovereignties bordering the Persian frontiers, for example, seldom pay tribute either to the Mogol or to the King of Persia. Nor can the former be said to receive anything considerable from the Balouches, Augans, and other mountaineers, who indeed seem to feel nearly independent of him, as was proved by their conduct when

the Mogol marched from Aleck on the Indus to Kaboui; for the purpose of besieging Kandahar.\(^1\) By stopping the supply of water from the mountains, and preventing its descent into the fields contiguous to the public road, they completely arrested the army on its march, until the



Fig. 9.—' Gunga Din.'
'E would dot an' enery one.
Till the inspert day was done.
An's didn't seem to know the use of fear.

mountaineers received from the Mogol the presents which they had solicited in the way of alms.

The Patans also are an intractable race. They are Mahometans, who formerly inhabited a country in the vicinity of the Ganges, toward Bengale. Before the invasion of India by the Mogols, the Patans had rendered themselves formidable in several places. Their power was felt principally at Dehli,1 many of the neighbouring Rajas being their tributaries. Even the menials and carriers of water belonging to that nation are high-spirited and warlike.2 'If it be not so, may I never ascend the throne of Dehli,' is the usual phraseology of a Palan, when wishing to enforce the truth of any assertion. They hold the Indians, both Gentiles and Mogols, in the utmost contempt; and, recollecting the consideration in which they were formerly held in India, they mortally hate the Mogols, by whom their fathers were dispossessed of great principalities, and driven to the mountains far from Dehli and Agra. In these mountains some Palans established themselves as petty sovereigns or Rajas; but without any great power.

The King of Visapour, so far from paying tribute to the Mogol, is engaged in perpetual war with him, and contrives to defend his dominions. He owes his preservation less to the strength of his arms than to many peculiar circumstances. His kingdom is at a great distance from Agra and Dehli, the Mogol's usual places of residence; the capital city, called also Visapour, is strong, and not easily accessible to an invading army, because of the bad water

¹ The Pathán Sultáns of Dehli may be said to have reigned from 1192-1554, somewhat more than three centuries and a half, during which time six dynasties, numbering in all forty kings, succeeded to the throne of Dehli. The boundaries of their Empire, at all times uncertain in extent, varying from the extreme limits of Eastern Bengal on one side to Kábul and Kandahár on the west, with Sind and the Southern Peninsula to complete the circle; occasionally reduced to a few districts around the capital and in one instance confined to the single spot enclosed within the walls of the metropolis itself. See Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathán King of Dehli, 1877.

² How true this is at the present day. The regimental bihsthi or water-carrier, generally a Pathán, is still a universal favourite, and his prowess has lately been sung in spirited verse by Rudyard Kipling in his barrack-room ballad of Gunga Din (The Scots Observer, 7th June 1890).

³ See p. 196.

⁴ Bijapúr.

and searcity of forage in the surrounding country; and several Rajas for the sake of mutual security join him, when attacked, with their forces. The celebrated Scua-Gi not long ago made a seasonable diversion in his favour, by plundering and burning the rich seaport of Sourate.

There is again the wealthy and powerful King of Gol-kondo, who secretly supplies the King of Visapour with money, and constantly keeps an army on the frontiers, with the double object of defending his own territories and aiding Visapour in the event of that country being closely pressed.

Similarly, among those not paying tribute may be numbered more than a hundred Rajas, or Gentile sovereigns of considerable strength, dispersed over the whole empire, some near and some at a distance from Agra and Dehli. Fifteen or sixteen of these Rajas are rich and formidable, particularly Rana,2 formerly considered Emperor of the Rajas, and supposed to be descended from King Porus. Jesuingue a and Jesumseingue. If these three chose to enter into an offensive league, they would prove dangerous opponents to the Mogol, each of them having at all times the means of taking the field with twenty thousand cavalry; better than any that could be opposed to them. horsemen are called Ragipous, or sons of Rajas. Their military occupation, as I have stated elsewhere,5 descends from father to son; and every man receives a grant of land on condition that he be always prepared to mount his horse and follow the Raja, whither he shall command. These men endure a great deal of fatigue, and require only discipline to become excellent soldiers.

Third.—It is material to remark that the Great Mogol is a Mahometan, of the sect of the Sounnys, who, believing with the Turks that Osman was the true successor of Mahomet, are distinguished by the name of Osmanlys. The

4 See p. 39.

See p. 188.
The ruler of Chitor (Mewir or Udaipur).
See p. 34 text, and footnote?.
See p. 37 text, and footnote?

majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of Chias, believers in the real succession of Aly. Moreover, the Great Mogol is a foreigner in Hindoustan, a descendant of Tamerlan, chief of those Mogols from Tartary who, about the year 1401, overran and conquered the Indies. Consequently he finds himself in an hostile country, or nearly so; a country containing hundreds of Gentiles to one Mogol, or even to one Mahometan. To maintain himself in such a country, in the midst of domestic and powerful enemies, and to be always prepared against any hostile movement on the side of Persia or Usbec, he is under the necessity of keeping up numerous armies, even in the time of peace. These armies are composed either of natives, such as Ragipous and Patans, or of genuine Mogols and people who, though less esteemed, are called Mogols because white men, foreigners, and Mahometans. The court itself does not now consist. as originally, of real Mogols; but is a medley of Usbecs, Persians, Arabs, and Turks, or descendants from all these people: known, as I said before, by the general appellation of Mogols. It should be added, however, that children of the third and fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of this country of their nativity, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy, if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry or cavalry.—But it is time to give your lordship some idea of the armies of the Great Mogol, in order that you may judge, by the vast expenditure to which they subject him, what are really his effective means and resources.

I shall first speak of the native army, which he must perforce entertain.

Under this head are comprehended the ragipous of Jesseingue and of Jessomseingue; to whom, and to several other Rajas, the Mogol grants large sums for the service

of a certain number of their ragipous, to be kept always ready and at his disposal. Rajas bear an equal rank with the foreign and Mahometan Omrahs, whether employed in the army which the King retains at all times near his person, or in those stationed in the provinces. They are also generally subjected to the same regulations as the Omrahs, even to mounting guard; with this difference, however, that the Rajas never mount within a fortress, but invariably without the walls, under their own tents, not enduring the idea of being confined during four-and-twenty hours, and always refusing to enter any fortress unless well attended, and by men determined to sacrifice their lives for their leaders. This self-devotion has been sufficiently proved when attempts have been made to deal treacherously with a Raja.

There are many reasons why the Mogol is obliged to retain Rojas in his service.

First. Ragipous are not only excellent soldiers, but, as I have said, some Rajus can in any one day bring more than twenty thousand to the field.

Second. They are necessary to keep in check such Rajas as are not in the Mogol's pay; to reduce to submission those who take up arms rather than pay tribute, or refuse to join the army when summoned by the Mogol.

Third. It is the King's policy to foment jealousy and discord amongst the Rojas, and by caressing and favouring some more than others, he often succeeds, when desirous of doing so, in kindling wars among them.

Fourth. They are always at hand to be employed against the Palans, or against any rebellious Omrah or governor.

Fifth. Whenever the King of Galkonda withholds his tribute, or evinces an inclination to defend the King of Visapour or any neighbouring Raja whom the Mogol wishes to despoil or render tributary, Rajas are sent against him in preference to Omrahs, who being for the most part Persians, are not of the same religion as the Magol, to wit Sounnys, but Chias, as are the Kings of Persia and Golkonda.

Sixth. The Mogol never finds the Rajas more useful than when he is engaged in hostility with the Persians. His Omrahs, as I have just remarked, are generally of that nation, and shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural King; especially because they acknowledge him as their Imam, their Calife or sovereign pontiff, and the descendant of Aly, to bear arms against whom they therefore consider a great crime.

The Mogol is also compelled to engage Patans in his service by reasons very similar to those I have assigned for employing ragipous.

In fine, he is reduced to the necessity of supporting those troops of foreigners, or *Mogols*, which we have noticed; and as they form the principal force of the kingdom, and are maintained at an incredible expense, a detailed description of this force may not be unacceptable.

These troops, both cavalry and infantry, may be considered under two heads: one part as always near the Mogol's person; the other, as dispersed in the several provinces. In regard to the cavalry retained near the King, I shall speak first of the Omrahs, then of the Mansebdars, next of the Rouzindars; and, last of all, of the common troopers. I shall then proceed to the infantry, and describe the musketeers and all the foot-men who serve in the artillery, saying a word in passing on the horse artillery.

It must not be imagined that the Omrahs or Lords of the Mogol's court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither Dukedoms nor Marquisates; nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain, and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of Omrahs, because, the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the Omrah's death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally, we

might almost say, to beggary, and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry of some Omrah. The King, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family; and if the Omrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine Mogols.1 But this advancement through special favour proceeds slowly, for it is an almost invariable custom to pass gradually from small salaries, and inconsiderable offices, to situations of greater trust and emolument. The Omrahs, therefore, mostly consist of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to the court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education. The Mogol raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice.

Some of the Omrahs have the title of Hazary, or lord of a thousand horse; some, of Dou Hazary, lord of two thousand horse; some, of Penge, lord of five thousand horse; some, of Hecht, lord of seven thousand horse; some, of Deh Hazary, lord of ten thousand horse; and sometimes an Omrah has the title of Douazdeh Hazary, lord of twelve thousand horse; as was the case with the King's eldest son. Their pay is proportionate, not to the number of men, but to the number of horses, and two horses are generally allowed to one trooper, in order that the service may be better performed; for in those hot countries it is usual to say that a soldier with a single horse has one foot on the ground. But let it not be supposed that an Omrah is expected to keep, or indeed that the King would pay for, such a body of horse as is implied by the titles of Douazdeh or Hecht Hazary; high-sounding names intended to impose on the credulous, and deceive Foreigners. The King himself regulates as well the effective number

¹ See pp. 3, 404.

that each Omrah is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary. This salary is increased by the money that the Omrah retains out of every man's pay, and by what accrues from his false returns of the horses he is supposed to provide: all which renders the Omrah's income very considerable, particularly when he is so fortunate as to have some good Jah-ghirs, or suitable lands, assigned to him for the payment of his salary: for I perceived that the Omrah under whom I served, a Penge-Hazary, or lord of five thousand, whose quota was fixed at five hundred horses, had yet a balance over after the payment of all expenses, of nearly five thousand crowns a month, although, like all those who have no Jah-ghirs, he was a Nagdy, that is to say, one who drew his pay in cash from the treasury. Notwithstanding these large incomes, I was acquainted with very few wealthy Omrahs; on the contrary, most of them are in embarrassed circumstances, and deeply in debt; not that they are ruined, like the nobility of other countries, by the extravagance of their table, but by the costly presents made to the King at certain annual festivals, and by their large establishments of wives, servants, camels, and horses.

The Omrahs in the provinces, in the armies, and at court, are very numerous; but it was not in my power to ascertain their number, which is not fixed. I never saw less than five-and-twenty to thirty at court, all of whom were in the receipt of the large incomes already mentioned, dependent for the amount upon their number of horses, from one to twelve thousand.

It is these *Omrahs* who attain to the highest honours and situations of the State,—at court, in the provinces, and in the armies; and who are, as they call themselves, the Pillars of the Empire. They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out-of-doors but in the

¹ From the Persian word naqd, meaning silver, used in the sense of ready money.

most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horseback, and not unfrequently in a Paleky attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry the picquedent 1 or spitoon, water to allay the Omrah's thirst, and sometimes account-books, and other papers. Every Omrah at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of paying his respects to the King, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dispense justice, and at six in the evening. An Omrah must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress once every week, during four-and-twenty hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet, and other furniture; the King supplying him with nothing but his meals. These are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the Omrah performs the taslim, or reverence, the face turned toward the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground, and then lifting it up to the head.2

Whenever the King takes an excursion in his Paleky, on an elephant, or in a Tact-Ravan (or travelling throne, carried upon the shoulders of eight men, who are cleverly relieved from time to time when on the march by eight others), all the Omrahs who are not prevented by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback, exposed to the

¹ A capital transliteration of the Hindostanee word pik-dán, spitbox. The 'pigdaun' of modern Anglo-Indian colloquial. In another English translation of this book the word picquedent has been rendered 'tooth-pick,' a mistake that has been copied by others.

^{2 &#}x27;The salutation called taslim consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering.'—Ain·i-Akbari, Blochmann's translation, vol. i. p. 158. See p. 258 text, and footnote 2.

inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust. On every occasion the King is completely sheltered, whether taking the diversion of hunting, marching at the head of his troops, or making his progresses from one city to another. When, however, he confines his hunting to the neighbourhood of the city, visits his country house or repairs to the mosque, he sometimes dispenses with so large a retinue, and prefers being attended by such Omrahs only as are that day on guard.

Mansebdars 1 are horsemen with manseb pay, which is a peculiar pay, both honourable and considerable; not equal to that of the Omrahs, but much greater than the common pay. Hence they are looked on as petty Omrahs, and as being of the rank from which the Omrahs are taken. They acknowledge no other chief but the King, and have much the same duties imposed upon them as the Omrahs. to whom they would be equal if they had horsemen under them, as formerly was sometimes the case; but now they have only two, four, or six service horses, that is, such as bear the King's mark; and their pay is, in some instances, as low as one hundred and fifty roupies per month, and never exceeds seven hundred. Their number is not fixed,2 but they are much more numerous than the Omrahs: besides those in the provinces and armies, there are never less than two or three hundred at court.

Rouzindars are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the mansebdars. It is, however, of a different kind, and not thought so honourable, but the Rouzindars are not subject, like the Mansebdars, to the Agenas; that is, are not bound to take, at a valuation, carpets, and other pieces of furniture, that have

¹ Mansab means in Arabic and Persian an office, hence Mansabdar an officer, but the word was generally restricted to high officials.

² Akbar fixed the number of Mansabs at sixty-six, to correspond with the value of the letters in the name of Allah. See Blochmann's Ain, vol. i. p. 327.

been used in the King's palace, and on which an unreasonable value is sometimes set. Their number is very great. They fill the inferior offices; many being clerks and under-clerks; while some are employed to affix the King's signet to Barutter, or orders for the payment of money; and they scruple not to receive bribes for the quick issuing of these documents.

The common horsemen serve under the Omrahs: they are of two classes; the first consists of those who keep a pair of horses which the Omrah is bound to maintain for the King's service, and which bear the Omrah's mark on the thigh, and the second of those who keep only one horse. The former are the more esteemed, and receive the greater pay. The pay of the troopers depends, in a great measure,

A burilt corresponded somewhat to the modern cheque; it was a statement of account which contained details of the service or work for which it was issued, a pay order. It had to pass through many bands for 'countersignature' before being actually cashed. 'The receipts and expenditure of the Imperial workshops, the deposits and payments of salaries to the workshop (of whom some draw their pay on [military] descriptive rolls, and others according to the services performed by them, as the men engaged in the Imperial elephant and horse stables, and in the wagon department) are all made by barder (Aim, p. 262).

The Emperor Akbar who organised in a very thorough manner all the various departments of State, being desirous of avoiding delay, 'and from motives of kindness' ordered that certain classes of state papers, among others hardle, then all included in the term nones, need not be placed before him personally. This practice appears from Bernier's statement to have been continued by succeeding Emperors, but apparently with not altogether satisfactory results.

At the present day the word kernt is applied to certain documents of state in Turkey, and in The Standard newspaper, London, October tas, 1890, we read with reference to the doings of Moneignor Senessi the Bulgarian Archbithop, in Macedonia, that . . . *There can be little doubt, however, that, by the terms of his Berat, he is strictly within his right in visiting all villages where the Exarchist population is in marked majority, and in consecrating churches for them. Furthermore, besides the written authority, which might count for very little, he seems to enjoy if not the countenance, at least the tolerance of the Turkish authorities. . . .

on the generosity of the *Omrah*, who may favour whom he pleases; although it is understood by the *Mogal* that he that keeps only one horse shall not receive less than five and twenty raspics a month, and on that footing he calculates his accounts with the *Omrahs*.

The foot-soldiers receive the smallest pay; and, to be sure, the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times, which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their maskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Even then, they are terribly afraid of burning their eyes or their long beards, and above all lest some Dgen,2 or evil spirit, should cause the bursting of their musket. Some have twenty roupies a month, some fifteen, some ten; but their artillerymen who receive great pay, particularly all the Franguis or Christians .- Portuguese. English, Dutch, Germans, and French; fugitives from Goa, and from the Dutch and English companies. Formerly, when the Mogols were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the Europeans was more liberal, and there are still some remaining who receive two hundred roupies a month: but now the King admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirtytwo roupies.

The artillery is of two sorts, the heavy and the light, or, as they call the latter, the artillery of the stirrup. With respect to the heavy artillery, I recollect that when the King, after his illness, went with his army to Lahor and Kachemire to pass the summer in that dear little 'paradise of the Indies,' it consisted of seventy pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, without reckoning from two to three hundred light camels, each of which carried a small field-piece of the size of a double musket, attached on the back of the

In the time of the Emperor Akbar, a pakaspak (one horse) trooper was paid according to the kind of horse he maintained, and the amount varied from Rs. 30 per mensem for an Iriqi (Arabian) to Rs. 12 for a Janglah, or what would now be called a "country bred."

² The Arabic jinn.

animal, much in the same manner as swivels are fixed in our barks. I shall relate elsewhere this expedition to Kachemire, and describe how the King, during that long journey, amused himself almost every day, with the sports of the field, sometimes letting his birds of prey loose against cranes; sometimes hunting the nilsgaus, or grey oxen (a species of elk); another day hunting antelopes with tame leopards; and then indulging in the exclusively royal hunt of the lion.

The artillery of the stirrup, which also accompanied the Mogol in the journey to Lahor and Kachemire, appeared to me extremely well appointed. It consisted of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a wellmade and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses. and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay. The heavy artillery did not always follow the King, who was in the habit of diverging from the highroad, in search of hunting-ground, or for the purpose of keeping near the rivers and other waters. It could not move along difficult passes, or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. But the light artillery is always intended to be near the King's person and on that account takes the name of artillery of the stirrup. When he resumes his journey in the morning, and is disposed to shoot or hunt in game preserves, the avenues to which are guarded, it moves straight forward, and reaches with all possible speed the next place of encampment, where the royal tents and those of the principal Omrahs have been pitched since the preceding day. The guns are then ranged in front of the King's quarters, and by way of signal to the army, fire a volley the moment he arrives.

The army stationed in the provinces differs in nothing from that about the King's person, except in its superior numbers. In every district there are Omrahs, Mansebdars,

Rousindars, common troopers, infantry and artillery. In the Decan alone the cavalry amounts to twenty or five-andtwenty, and sometimes to thirty thousand; a force not more than sufficient to overawe the powerful King of Golkonda, and to maintain the war against the King of Visapour and the Rajas who, for the sake of mutual protection, join their forces with his. The number of troops in the kingdom of Kaboul, which it is necessary to quarter in that country to guard against any hostile movement on the part of the Persians, Auguns, Balouchees, and I know not how many other mountaineers, cannot be less than twelve or fifteen thousand. In the kingdom of Kachemire there are more than four thousand. In Bengale, so frequently the seat of war, the number is much greater; and as there is no province which can dispense with a military force, more or less numerous, according to its extent and particular situation, the total amount of troops in Hindouston is almost incredible.

Leaving out of our present calculation the infantry, which is of small amount, and the number of horses, which is merely nominal, and is apt to deceive a superficial observer, I should think, with many persons well conversant with this matter, that the effective cavalry, commonly about the King's person, including that of the Rajas and Patans, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand; which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse.

I have said that the infantry was inconsiderable. I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces. I cannot account for the prodigious amount of infantry with which some people swell the armies of the Great Mogol, otherwise than by supposing that with the fighting men, they confound servants, sutlers, tradesmen, and all

those individuals belonging to bazars, or markets, who accompany the troops.1 Including these followers, I can well conceive that the army immediately about the King's person, particularly when it is known that he intends to absent himself for some time from his capital, may amount to two, or even three hundred thousand infantry. This will not be deemed an extravagant computation, if we bear in mind the immense quantity of tents, kitchens, baggage, furniture, and even women, usually attendant on the army. For the conveyance of all these are again required many elephants, camels, oxen, horses, and porters. Your Lordship will bear in mind that, from the nature and government of this country, where the King is sole proprietor of all the land in the empire, a capital city, such as Dehly or Agra, derives its chief support from the presence of the army, and that the population is reduced to the necessity of following the Mogol whenever he undertakes a journey of long continuance.2 Those cities resemble any place rather than Paris; they might more fitly be compared to a camp, if the lodgings and accommodations were not a little superior to those found in the tents of armies.

It is also important to remark the absolute necessity which exists of paying the whole of this army every two months, from the omrah to the private soldier; for the King's pay is their only means of sustenance. In France, when the exigencies of the times prevent the government from immediately discharging an arrear of debt, an officer, or even a private soldier, may contrive to live for some time by means of his own private income; but in the Indies, any unusual delay in the payment of the troops is sure to be attended with fatal consequences; after selling whatever trifling articles they may possess, the soldiers disband and die of hunger. Toward the close of the late civil war, I discovered a growing disposition in the

¹ In the time of the Emperor Akbar, porters, dåk runners or postmen, gladiators (shamshérbáz), wrestlers, palki bearers, and wat carriers, were all classed as infantry.
² See p. 381.

troopers to sell their horses, which they would, no doubt, soon have done if the war had been prolonged. And no wonder; for consider, My Lord, that it is difficult to find in the Mogol s army, a soldier who is not married, who has not wife, children, servants, and slaves, all depending upon him for support. I have known many persons lost in amazement while contemplating the number of persons, amounting to millions, who depend for support solely on the King's pay. Is it possible, they have asked, that any revenue can suffice for such incredible expenditure? seeming to forget the riches of the Great Mogol, and the peculiar manner in which Hindowstan is governed.

But I have not enumerated all the expenses incurred by the Great Mogol. He keeps in Dehly and Agra from two to three thousand fine horses, always at hand in case of emergency: eight or nine hundred elephants, and a large number of baggage horses, mules, and porters, intended to carry the numerous and capacious tents, with their fittings, his wives and women, furniture, kitchen apparatus, Ganges'-water, and all the other articles neces-

1 The Mogul Emperors were great connoisseurs in the matter of good water, and the following extract from the Ain-i-Akbari, vol. i. p. 55, regarding the department of state, the Abdar Khanah, which had to do with the supply and cooling of drinking water, also with the supply of ice, then brought in the form of frozen snow from the Himolayas, is interesting. 'His Majesty calls this source of life "the water of immortality," and has committed the care of this department to proper persons. He does not drink much but pays much attention to this matter. Both at home and on travels. he drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river, who despatch the water in scaled lars. When the Court was at the capital Agra and in Fathpur (-Sikri), the water came from the district of Sarun, but now that his Majesty is in the Panjab, the water is brought from Hardwar. For the cooking of the food, rain water or water taken from the Jamnah and Chenals is used, mixed with a little Ganges water. On lourneys and hanting parties his Majesty, from his predilection for good water, appoints experienced men as water-tasters."

i Binchmenn, tracel, side, i. 45. Birth is a clotted error for theme, in the Erah District, the quatest point on the old bed of the Gauges in Agra.

sary for the camp, which the Mogol has always about him, as in his capital, things which are not considered necessary in our kingdoms in Europe.

Add to this, if you will, the enormous expenses of the Seraglio, where the consumption of fine cloths of gold, and brocades, silks, embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essences, is greater than can be conceived.

Thus, although the Great Mogol be in the receipt of an immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same proportion, he cannot possess the vast surplus of wealth that most people seem to imagine. I admit that his income exceeds probably the joint revenues of the Grand Scignior and of the King of Persia; but if I were to call him a wealthy monarch, it would be in the sense that a treasurer is to be considered wealthy who pays with one hand the large sums which he receives with the other. I should call that King effectively rich who, without oppressing or impoverishing his people, possessed revenues sufficient to support the expenses of a numerous and magnificent court-to erect grand and useful edifices-to indulge a liberal and kind disposition-to maintain a military force for the defence of his dominions-and, besides all this, to reserve an accumulating fund that would provide against any unforeseen rupture with his neighbours, although it should prove of some years' duration. The Sovereign of the Indies is doubtless possessed of many of these advantages, but not to the degree generally supposed. What I have said on the subject of the great expenses to which he is unavoidably exposed. has perhaps inclined you to this opinion; and the two facts I am about to relate, of which I had an opportunity to ascertain the correctness, will convince your lordship that the pecuniary resources of the Great Mogol himself may be exaggerated.

First.—Toward the conclusion of the late war, Aureng-Zebe was perplexed how to pay and supply his armies, notwithstanding that the war had continued but five years, that the pay of the troops was less than usual, that, with the exception of Bengale where Sultan Sujah still held out, a profound tranquillity reigned in every part of Hindonstan, and that he had so lately appropriated to himself a large portion of the treasures of his father Chah-Jehan.

Second,-Chah-Jehan, who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years without being involved in any great wars, never amassed six kourours of roupies,1 But I do not include in this sum a great abundance of gold and silver articles, of various descriptions, curiously wrought, and covered with precious stones; or a prodigious quantity of pearls and gems of all kinds, of great size and value. I doubt whether any other Monarch possesses more of this species of wealth; a throne of the great Mogol, covered with pearls and diamonds, being alone valued, if my memory be correct, at three konrours of roupies. But all these precious stones, and valuable articles, are the spoils of ancient princes, Patans and Rajas, collected during a long course of years, and, increasing regularly under every reign, by presents which the Omrahs are compelled to make on certain annual festivals. The whole of this treasure is considered the property of the crown, which it is criminal to touch, and upon the security of which the King, in a time of pressing necessity, would find it extremely difficult to raise the smallest sum.

Before I conclude, I wish to explain how it happens that, although this Empire of the Mogol is such an abyss for gold and silver, as I said before, these precious metals are not in greater plenty here than elsewhere; on the contrary, the inhabitants have less the appearance of a moneyed people than those of many other parts of the globe.

In the first place, a large quantity is melted, re-melted, and wasted, in fabricating women's bracelets, both for

I have already stated [see p. 200, footnote] that a roupic is worth about twenty-nine sols. One hundred thousand make a layur, and one hundred lecques one kensuar.—Bernier.

the hands and feet, chains, carrings, nose and finger rings, and a still larger quantity is consumed in manufacturing embroideries; alachas, or striped silken stuffs; touras, or fringes of gold lace, worn on turbans; gold and silver cloths; scarfs, turbans, and brocades. The quantity of these articles made in India is incredible. All the troops, from the Omrah to the man in the ranks, will wear gilt ornaments; nor will a private soldier refuse them to his wife and children, though the whole family should die of hunger; which indeed is a common occurrence.

In the second place, the King, as proprietor of the land, makes over a certain quantity to military men, as an equivalent for their pay; and this grant is called jah-ghir, or, as in Turkey, timar; the word jah-ghir signifying the spot from which to draw, or the place of salary. Similar grants are made to governors, in lieu of their salary, and also for the support of their troops, on condition that they pay a certain sum annually to the King out of any surplus revenue that the land may yield. The lands not so granted are retained by the King as the peculiar domains of his house, and are seldom, if ever, given in the way of jah-ghir; and upon these domains he keeps contractors, who are also bound to pay him an annual rent.

² From the Persian word turreh, a lock of hair. Fringes, with which the ends of turban cloths are finished off.

^{*} Recent travellers have remarked upon this 'abyss for gold and silver,' to use Bernier's forcible language, in the East generally, and in an interesting special article in The Times of March 13th, 1891, describing the cutting of the top-knot (a 'coming of age' ceremony) of the heir-apparent to the Crown of Siam which took place on the 19th of January, we read, it proper of the grand procession:—

But a Stamese procession is in lited a marvel, compared with which the most ambitious Leed Mayor's Show is a very one-burse affair. The Royal crown alone worn by the King in his palanquia, would, it converted into pounds are ling, pay for a great many and aboves. So would his jewelled uniform, and so would the crown of the small Prince. Many thousands of pounds worth of pure gold is carried along on the balts and Court uniforms of the grantees; and an inventory of the other "properties" displayed would rather automals a manager of stage procession in Europe.

In this connection see Appendix IV.

In the original, Farmiers,

The persons thus put in possession of the land, whether as timariots, governors, or contractors, have an authority almost absolute over the peasantry, and nearly as much over the artisans and merchants of the towns and villages within their district; and nothing can be imagined more cruel and oppressive than the manner in which it is exercised. There is no one before whom the injured peasant, artisan, or tradesman can pour out his just complaints; no great lords, parliaments, or judges of local courts, exist, as in France, to restrain the wickedness of those merciless oppressors, and the Kadis, or judges, are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people. This sad abuse of the royal authority may not be felt in the same degree near capital cities such as Dehly and Agra, or in the vicinity of large towns and seaports, because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed from the court.

This debasing state of slavery obstructs the progress of trade and influences the manners and mode of life of every individual. There can be little encouragement to engage in commercial pursuits, when the success with which they may be attended, instead of adding to the enjoyments of life, provokes the cupidity of a neighbouring tyrant possessing both power and inclination to deprive any man of the fruits of his industry. When wealth is acquired, as must sometimes be the case, the possessor, so far from living with increased comfort and assuming an air of independence, studies the means by which he may appear indigent: his dress, lodging, and furniture, continue to be mean, and he is careful, above all things, never to indulge in the pleasures of the table. In the meantime, his gold and silver remain buried at a great depth in the ground; agreeable to the general practice among the peasantry, artisans and merchants, whether Mahomelans or Gentiles, but especially among the latter, who possess almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country. and who believe that the money concealed during life will prove beneficial to them after death. A few individuals alone who derive their income from the King or from the Ouroks, or who are protected by a powerful pairon, are at no pains to counterfeit poverty, but partake of the comforts and luxuries of life.

I have no doubt that this habit of secretly burying the precious metals, and thus withdrawing them from circulation, is the principal cause of their apparent scarcity in Hindonston.

From what I have said, a question will naturally arise, whether it would not be more advantageous for the King as well as for the people, if the former ceased to be sole possessor of the land, and the right of private property 1 were recognised in the Indies as it is with us? I have carefully compared the condition of European states, where that right is acknowledged, with the condition of those countries where it is not known, and am persuaded that the absence of it among the people is injurious to the best interests of the Sovereign himself. We have seen how in the ladies the gold and silver disappear in consequence of the tyranny of Timariots, Governors, and Revenue contractors-a tyranny which even the monarch, if so disposed, has no means of controlling in provinces not contiguous to his capital-a tyranny often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion-a tyranny owing to which those wretched people either have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and to die at a tender age-a tyrauny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring state, in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army, where he becomes the servant of some trooper. As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and causis for the conveyance of water, it happens that

¹ In the original, ce Afien et ce Tien.

the whole country is badly cultivated, and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition, there being few people who will either build new ones, or repair those which are tumbling down. The peasant cannot avoid asking himself this question: 'Why should I toil for a tyrant who may come to-morrow and lay his rapacious hands upon all I possess and value, without leaving me, if such should be his humour, the means to drag on my miserable existence? '-The Timariots, Governors, and Revenue contractors, on their part reason in this manner: Why should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds? and why should we expend our own money and time to render it fruitful? We may be deprived of it in a single moment, and our exertions would benefit neither ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should starve or abscond, and we should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness."

The facts I have mentioned are sufficient to account for the rapid decline of the Asiatic states. It is owing to this miserable system of government that most towns in Hindonstan are made up of earth, mud, and other wretched materials; that there is no city or town which, if it be not already rained and deserted, does not bear evident marks of approaching decay. Without confining our remarks to so distant a kingdom, we may judge of the effects of despotic power unrelentingly exercised, by the present condition of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, the once wonderful plains of Antioch, and so many other regions anciently well cultivated, fertile, and populous, but now desolate, and in many parts marshy, pestiferous, and unfit for human habitation. Egypt also exhibits a sad picture of an enslaved country. More than one-tenth part of that incomparable territory has been lost within the last eighty years, because no one will be at the expense of repairing the irrigation channels, and confining

the Nile within its banks. The low lands are thus violently inundated, and covered with sand, which cannot be removed without much labour and expense. Can it excite wonder, that under these circumstances, the arts do not flourish here as they would do under a better government, or as they flourish in our happier France? No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty and excellence, but the cheapness of an article: a people whose grandees pay for a work of art considerably under its value, and according to their own caprice, and who do not hesitate to punish an importunate artist, or tradesman, with the korrah, that long and terrible whip hanging at every Omrah's gate. Is it not enough also to damp the ardour of any artist, when he feels that he can never hope to attain to any distinction; that he shall not be permitted to purchase either office or land for the benefit of himself and family; that he must at no time make it appear he is the owner of the most trifling sum; and that he may never venture to indulge in good fare, or to dress in fine apparel, lest he should create a suspicion of his possessing money?1 The arts in the Indies would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy, if the Monarch and principal Omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses,2 teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward and the fear of the korrah. protection afforded by powerful patrons to rich merchants and tradesmen who pay the workmen rather higher wages, tends also to preserve the arts. I say rather

¹ In 1882 on the occasion of the formation of a Loan Collection of arts and manufactures in connection with an Agricultural Exhibition at Lucknow, many of the possessors of various ancient family jewels, amulets, and other works of art, were at first unwilling to lend them, lest by their doing so they should acquire the reputation of being wealthy and be assessed at a high rate for Income-tax.

² See p. 258 text, and footnote ³.

higher wages, for it should not be inferred from the goodness of the manufactures, that the workman is held in esteem, or arrives at a state of independence. Nothing but sheer necessity or blows from a cudgel keeps him employed; he never can become rich, and he feels it no trilling matter if he have the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger, and of covering his body with the coarsest raiment. If money be gained, it does not in any measure go into his pocket, but only serves to increase the wealth of the merchant who, in his turn, is not a little perplexed how to guard against some act of outrage and extortion on the part of his superiors.

A profound and universal ignorance is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe. Is it possible to establish in *Hindonatan* academies and colleges properly endowed? Where shall we seek for founders? or, should they be found, where are the scholars? Where the individuals whose property is sufficient to support their children at college? or, if such individuals exist, who would venture to display so clear a proof of wealth? Lastly, if any persons should be tempted to commit this great imprudence, yet where are the benefices, the employments, the offices of trust and dignity, that require ability and science and are calculated to excite the emulation and the hopes of the young student?

Nor can the commerce of a country so governed be conducted with the activity and success that we witness in Europe; few are the men who will voluntarily endure labour and anxiety, and incur danger, for another person's benefit,—for a governor who may appropriate to his own use the profit of any speculation. Let that profit be ever so great, the man by whom it has been made must still wear the garb of indigence, and fare no better, in regard to eating and drinking, than his poorer neighbours. In cases, indeed, where the merchant is protected by a military man of rank, he may be induced to embark in commercial enterprises; but still he must be the slave of

his patron, who will exact whatever terms he pleases as the price of his protection.

The Great Mogol cannot select for his service, princes, noblemen and gentlemen of opulent and ancient families; nor the sons of his citizens, merchants and manufacturers; men of education, possessing a high sense of propriety, affectionately attached to their Sovereign, ready to support, by acts of valour, the reputation of their family, and, as the occasion may arise, able and willing to maintain themselves, either at court or in the army, by means of their own patrimony; animated by the hope of better times, and satisfied with the approbation and smile of their Sovereign. Instead of men of this description, he is surrounded by slaves, ignorant and brutal; by parasites raised from the dregs of society; strangers to loyalty and patriotism; full of insufferable pride, and destitute of courage, of honour, and of decency.

The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of a numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of that people. The cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others; and driven to despair by every kind of cruel treatment, their revolt or their flight is only prevented by the presence of a military force.

The misery of this ill-fated country is increased by the practice which prevails too much at all times, but especially on the breaking out of an important war, of selling the different governments for immense sums in hard cash. Hence it naturally becomes the principal object of the individual thus appointed Governor, to obtain repayment of the purchase-money, which he borrowed as he could at a ruinous rate of interest. Indeed whether the government of a province has or has not been bought, the Governor, as well as the timariot and the farmer of the

revenue, must find the means of making valuable presents, every year, to a Visir, a Ennuch, a lady of the Seraglio, and to any other person whose influence at court he considers indispensable. The Governor must also enforce the payment of the regular tribute to the King; and although he was originally a wretched slave, involved in debt, and without the smallest patrimony, he yet becomes a great and opulent lord.

Thus do rain and desolation overspread the land. The provincial governors, as before observed, are so many petty tyrants, possessing a boundless authority; and as there is no one to whom the oppressed subject may appeal, he cannot hope for redress, let his injuries be ever so grievous or ever so frequently repeated.

It is true that the Great Mogol sends a Vakea-Nevis 1 to the various provinces; that is, persons whose business it is to communicate every event that takes place; but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governor, so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny exercised over the unhappy people.

Governments also are not so often and so openly sold in Hindousian as in Turkey. I say 'so openly,' because the costly presents, made occasionally by the governors, are nearly equivalent to purchase-money. The same persons, too, generally remain longer in their respective governments than in Turkey, and the people are gradually less oppressed by governors of some standing than when, indigent and greedy, they first take possession of their province. The tyranny of these men is also somewhat

A corruption of the Persian word Wiki aknowis, a newswriter, an accient institution in India. Fryer partly attributed Aurangeeb's non-success in the Decean, although he had large armies there, to the take reports sent by his newswriters, stating:—'Notwithstanding all these formidable Numbers, while the Generals and Vicanesias consult to deceive the Emperor, on whom he depends for a true state of things, it can never be otherwise but that they must be misrepresented, when the Judgment he makes must be by a false Perspective (ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Soc., ii. 52).

mitigated by the apprehension that the people, if used with excessive cruelty, may abandon the country, and seek an asylum in the territory of some Raja, as indeed happens very often.

In Persia likewise are governments neither so frequently nor so publicly sold as in Turkey; for it is not uncommon for the children of governors to succeed their fathers. The consequence of this better state of things is seen in the superior condition of the people, as compared to those of Turkey. The Persians also are more polite, and there are even instances of their devoting themselves to study.

Those three countries, Turkey, Persia, and Hindoustan, have no idea of the principle of meum and tuum, relatively to land or other real possessions; and having lost that respect for the right of property, which is the basis of all that is good and useful in the world, necessarily resemble each other in essential points: they fall into the same pernicious errors, and must, sooner or later, experience the natural consequences of those errors—tyranny, ruin, and misery

How happy and thankful should we feel, My Lord, that in our quarter of the globe, Kings are not the sole proprietors of the soil! Were they so, we should seek in vain for countries well cultivated and populous, for well-built and opulent cities, for a polite, contented, and flourishing people. If this exclusive and baneful right prevailed, far different would be the real riches of the sovereigns of Europe, and the loyalty and fidelity with which they are served. They would soon reign over solitudes and deserts, over mendicants and barbarians.

Actuated by a blind and wicked ambition to be more absolute than is warranted by the laws of God and of nature, the Kings of Asia grasp at everything, until at length they lose everything; or, if they do not always find themselves without pecuniary resources, they are invariably disappointed in the expectation of acquiring the riches which they covet. If the same system of government

existed with us, where, I must again ask, should we find Princes, Prelates, Nobles, opulent Citizens, and thriving Tradesmen, Ingenious Artisans and Manufacturers? Where should we look for such cities as Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, Rouen, or, if you will, London, and so many others? Where should we see that infinite number of towns and villages; all those beautiful country houses, those fine plains, hills and valleys, cultivated with so much care, art and labour? and what would become of the ample revenues derived from so much industry, an industry beneficial alike to the sovereign and the subject? The reverse of this smiling picture would, alas! be exhibited. Our large towns would become uninhabitable in consequence of the unwholesome air, and fall into ruins without exciting in any person a thought of preventing or repairing the decay; our fertile hills would be abandoned, and the plains would be overrun with thorns and weeds, or covered with pestilential morasses. The excellent accommodation for travellers would disappear; the good inns, for example, between Paris and Lyons, would dwindle into ten or twelve wretched caravansaries, and travellers be reduced to the necessity of moving, like the Gypsies, with everything about them. The Eastern Karawans-Serrah resemble large barns, raised and paved all round, in the same manner as our Pont-newf. Hundreds of human beings are seen in them, mingled with their horses, mules, and camels. In summer these buildings are hot and sufficienting, and in winter nothing but the breath of so many animals prevents the inmates from dying of cold,

But there are countries, I shall be told, such for instance as the Grand Seignior's dominions, which we know better than any without going as far as the Indies, where the principle of meum and teum is unknown, which not only preserve their existence, but maintain a great and increasing power.

An empire so prodigiously extensive as that of the Grand Seignior, comprising countries whose soil is so

deep and excellent that even without due cultivation it will continue fertile for many years, cannot be otherwise than rich and powerful. Yet how insignificant is the wealth and strength of Turkey in comparison to its extent and natural advantages! Let us only suppose that country as populous and as carefully cultivated as it would become if the right of private property were recognised and acted upon, and we cannot doubt that it could raise and support armies as numerous and well-appointed as formerly : but even at Constantinople three months are now required to raise five or six thousand men. I have travelled through nearly every part of the empire, and witnessed how lamentably it is ruined and depopulated. Some support it undoubtedly derives from the Christian slaves brought from all quarters; but if that country continue many years under the present system of government, it must necessarily fall and perish from innate weakness, though, to all appearance, it is now preserved by that weakness itself; for there is no longer a governor, or any other person, possessed of pecuniary means to undertake the least enterprise, or who could find the men he would require to accomplish his purpose. Strange means of preservation! Turkey seems to owe its transient existence to the seeds of destruction in its own bosom! To remove the danger of commotion and put an end to all fears on that subject, nothing more appears necessary than the measure adopted by a Brama of Pegu, who actually

Thus in the original. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who travelled in Pegu about 1542-45, styles the then king of that country Brumas. It is probable that Bernier uses the term to denote the Supreme King of Pegu, who in 1593 caused many of his most loyal officers to be put to death, and by other deeds of cruelty so alarmed his subjects that thousands abundoned the country and fled, which thus became depopulated and uncoltivated. See chapter Ixiii. of The Poyagu and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendes Pinto, a Portugui; During his travels for the space of one-and twenty years in the Kingdoms of Ethiopia, China. Pegu. Lension 1663, which is entitled That which the King of Braman did after his arrival at the city of Pegu, together with his besigning of Savady.

caused the death of half the population by famine, converted the country into forests, and prevented for many years the tillage of the land. But all this did not suffice : even this plan was unsuccessful; a division of the kingdom took place, and Ara, the capital, was very lately on the point of being captured by a handful of fugitives from Ching.1 We must confess, however, that there seems little probability of the total ruin and destruction of the Turkish empire in our day-it will be happy if we see nothing worse !- because the neighbouring states, so far from being able to attack it, are not in a condition to defend themselves effectually, without foreign aid, which remoteness and jealousy will always render tardy, inefficient, and liable to suspicion.

If it be observed that there is no reason why eastern states should not have the benefit of good laws, or why the people in the provinces may not complain of their grievances to a grand Visir, or to the King himself; I shall admit that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, which, if properly administered, would render Aria as eligible a residence as any other part of the world. But of what advantage are good laws when not observed. and when there is no possibility of enforcing their observance? Have not the provincial tyrants been nominated by the same grand Fisir and by the same King, who alone have power to redress the people's wrongs? and is it not a fact that they have no means of appointing any but tyrants to rule over the provinces? either the Visir or the King has sold the place to the Governor. And even admitting that there existed a disposition to listen to a complaint, how is a poor peasant or a rained artisan to defray the expenses of a journey to the capital, and to seek justice at one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from home? He would

¹ This happened in May 1659, and it is said that the repulse of the Chinese was mainly due to the skill and bravery of native Christian gunners, descendants of Portuguese captives (Phayre, Hist. of Burma).

be waylaid and murdered, as frequently happens, or sooner or later fall into the Governor's hands, and be at his mercy. Should be chance to reach the royal residence, he would find the friends of his oppressor busy in distorting the truth, and misrepresenting the whole affair to the King. In short, the Governor is absolute lord, in the strictest sense of the word. He is in his own person the intendant of justice, the parliament, the presidial court, and the assessor and receiver of the King's taxes. A Persian, in speaking of these greedy Governors, Timariots, and Farmers of Revenue, aptly describes them as men who extract oil out of sand. No income appears adequate to maintain them, with their crowds of harpies, women, children, and slaves.

If it be remarked that the lands which our Kings hold as domains are as well enitivated, and as thickly peopled as other lands, my answer is that there can be no analogy between a kingdom whose monarch is proprietor of a few domains, and a kingdom where the monarch possesses, in his own right, every acre of the soil. In France the laws are so reasonable, that the King is the first to obey them: his domains are held without the violation of any right; his farmers or stewards may be sued at law, and the aggrieved artisan or peasant is sure to find redress against injustice and oppression. But in eastern countries, the weak and the injured are without any refuge whatever; and the only law that decides all controversies is the cane and the caprice of a governor.

There certainly however, some may say, are some advantages peculiar to despotic governments: they have fewer lawyers, and fewer law-suits, and those few are more speedily decided. We cannot, indeed, too greatly admire the old Persian proverb, Na-hac Kouta Better-Es have Deras: 1 'Speedy injustice is preferable to tardy justice.' Protracted law-suits are, I admit, insupportable

Or, as more correctly transliterated, Nd-kappi ketak biktar az kappi darás.

evils in any state, and it is incumbent upon a Sovereign to provide a remedy against them. It is certain that no remedy would be so efficacious as the destruction of the right of private property. Do away with this meum and tuum, and the necessity for an infinite number of legal proceedings will at once cease, especially for those which are important, long, and intricate: the larger portion of magistrates employed by the King to administer justice to his subjects will also become useless, as will those swarms of attorneys and counsellors who live by judicial contests. But it is equally certain that the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease, and that there is no estimating the misery that would afflict the country. Instead of magistrates on whose probity the monarch can depend, we should be at the mercy of such rulers as I have described. In Asia, if justice be ever administered. it is among the lower classes, among persons who, being equally poor, have no means of corrupting the judges, and of buying false witnesses; witnesses always to be had in great numbers, at a cheap rate, and never punished. I am speaking the language of several years' experience; my information was obtained from various quarters, and is the result of many careful inquiries among the natives, European merchants long settled in the country, ambassadors, consuls, and interpreters. My testimony is, I know, at variance with the account given by most of our travellers. They happened, perhaps, in passing through a town, to see two poor men, the dregs of the people, in the presence of a Kadi. Our countryman may have seen them hurried out of court to receive, either the one or the other, if not both, hard blows on the soles of the feet, unless the parties were immediately dismissed with a Maybale-Baba, 2 or a few soft words which the magistrate sometimes utters when he finds that no bribe can be

¹ Truckement in the original, our 'dragoman' (Arabic tarjuman).

Misprinted for munditha bided, "He at peace, my children," equivalent to advising them to settle their case out of court.

expected. No doubt, this summary mode of proceeding excited the admiration of our travellers, and they returned to France, exclaiming, 'O, what an excellent and quick administration of justice! O, the upright Kadis! Models for the imitation of French magistrates!' not considering that if the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of putting a couple of crowns into the hands of the Kadi or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his

cause, or prolonged it as long as he pleased.

Yes, My Lord, to conclude briefly I must repeat it : take away the right of private property in land, and you introduce, as a sure and necessary consequence, tyranny, slavery, injustice, beggary and barbarism: the ground will cease to be cultivated and become a dreary wilderness; in a word. the road will be opened to the ruin of Kings and the destruction of Nations. It is the hope by which a man is animated, that he shall retain the fruits of his industry, and transmit them to his descendants, that forms the main foundation of everything excellent and beneficial in this sublimary state; and if we take a review of the different kingdoms in the world, we shall find that they prosper or decline according as this principle is acknowledged or contemned: in a word, it is the prevalence or neglect of this principle which changes and diversifies the face of the earth.



LETTER

TO MONSIEUR

DE LA

MOTHE LE VAYER

Written at Dehli the first of July 1668.

Containing a description of Dehli and Agra, the Capital Cities of the Empire of the Great Mogol, together with various details illustrative of the Court Life and the Civilisation of the Mogols and the People of the Indies,



ONSIEUR,

I know that your i first inquiries on my return to France will be respecting the capital cities of this empire. You will be anxious to learn if Dehli and Agra rival

François de la Mothe le Vayer, 1585-1672, was a very voluminous and able writer on ethnological, geographical, and historical subjects. He succeeded his father Félix, who died on the 25th September 1625, in a parliamentary office, but soon abandoned law for letters. Hernier was one of his most intimate friends, and when he came to see him as he lay on his death-bed, almost his last atterance was the greeting. 'Eh bien I quelles nouvelles avez-vous du grand Mogol?' (Well! what news have you of the Great Mogul?)

Paris in beauty, extent, and number of inhabitants. I hasten, therefore, to gratify your curiosity open these points, and I may perhaps intersperse a few other matters which you will not find altogether uninteresting.

In treating of the beauty of these towns, I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the coutemptuous manner in which Europeans in the Indiex speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the Western world, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture; that what is useful and proper at Paris, London, or Amsterdam, would be entirely out of place at Dehli; insomuch that if it were possible for any one of those great capitals to change place with the metropolis of the Indies, it would become necessary to throw down the greater part of the city, and to rebuild it on a totally different plan. Without doubt, the cities of Europe may boast great beauties; these, however, are of an appropriate character, suited to a cold climate. Thus Dekli also may possess beauties adapted to a warm climate. The heat is so intense in Hindoustan, that no one, not even the King, wears stockings; the only cover for the feet being babouches,1 or slippers, while the head is proteeted by a small turban, of the finest and most delicate materials. The other garments are proportionably light, During the summer season, it is searcely possible to keep the hand on the wall of an apartment, or the head on a pillow. For more than six successive months, everybody lies in the open air without covering-the common people in the streets, the merchants and persons of condition sometimes in their courts or gardens, and sometimes on their terraces, which are first carefully watered. Now, only suppose the streets of S. Jaques or S. Denis transported hither, with their close houses and endless stories; would they be habitable? or would it be possible to sleep in them during the night, when the absence of wind

¹ Physik; literally foot-cour.

increases the heat almost to suffocation? Suppose one just returned on horseback, half dead with heat and dust, and drenched, as usual, in perspiration; and then imagine the luxury of squeezing up a narrow dark staircase to the fourth or fifth story, there to remain almost choked with heat. In the Indies, there is no such trouble-some task to perform. You have only to swallow quickly a draught of fresh water, or lemonade; to undress; wash face, hands, and feet, and then immediately drop upon a sofa in some shady place, where one or two servants fan you with their great panhas 1 or fans. But I shall now endeavour to give you an accurate description of Dehli, that you may judge for yourselves how far it has a claim to the appellation of a beautiful city.

It is about forty years ago that Chah-Jehan, father of the present Great Mogol, Aureng-Zebe, conceived the design of immortalising his name by the erection of a city near the site of the ancient Dehli. This new capital he called after his own name, Chah-Jehan-Abad, or, for brevity, Jehan-Abad; that is to say, the colony of Chah-Jehan. Here he resolved to fix his court, alleging as the reason for its removal from Agra, that the excessive heat to which that city is exposed during summer rendered it unfit for the residence of a monarch. Owing to their being so near at hand, the ruins of old Dehli have served to build the new city, and in the Indies they scarce speak any more of Dehli, but only of Jehan-Abad; however, as the city of Jehan-Abad is not yet known to us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of Dehli, with which we are familiar.

Dehli, then, is an entirely new city, situated in a flat country, on the banks of the Gemna, a river which may be compared to the Loire, and built on one bank only in such a manner that it terminates in this place very much in the form of a crescent, having but one bridge of boats to cross to the country. Excepting the side where it is defended by the river, the city is encompassed by walls of brick.

Thus in original; a misprint for panellar.

The fortifications, however, are very incomplete, as there are neither ditches nor any other kind of additional defence, if we except flanking towers of antique shape. at intervals of about one hundred paces, and a bank of earth forming a platform behind the walls, four or five feet in thickness. Although these works encompass not only the city but the citadel, yet their extent is less than is generally supposed. I have accomplished the circuit with ease in the space of three hours, and notwithstanding I rode on horseback, I do not think my progress exceeded a league per hour. In this computation I do not however include the suburbs, which are considerable, comprising a long chain of buildings on the side of Lakor, the extensive remains of the old city, and three or four smaller suburbs. By these additions the extent of the city is so much increased that a straight line may be traced in it of more than a league and a half; and though I cannot undertake to define exactly the circumference, because these suburbs are interspersed with extensive gardens and open spaces, yet you must see that it is very great.

The citadel, which contains the Mehalle or Scraglio, and the other royal apartments of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, is round, or rather semicircular. It commands a prospect of the river, from which it is separated by a sandy space of considerable length and On these sands are exhibited the combats of elephants, and there the corps belonging to the Omrahs or lords, and those of the Rajas or gentile princes, pass in review before the Sovereign, who witnesses the spectacle from the windows of the palace. The walls of the citadel, as to their antique and round towers, resemble those of the city, but being partly of brick, and partly of a red stone which resembles marble, they have a better appearance. The walls of the fortress likewise excel those of the town in height, strength, and thickness, being capable of admitting small field-pieces, which are pointed toward the city. Except on the side of the river, the citadel

is defended by a deep ditch faced with hewn stone, filled with water, and stocked with fish. Considerable as these works may appear, their real strength is by no means great, and in my opinion a battery of moderate force would soon level them with the ground.

Adjoining the ditch is a large garden, filled at all times with flowers and green shrubs, which, contrasted with the stupendous red walls, produce a beautiful effect.

Next to the garden is the great royal square, faced on one side by the gates of the fortress, and on the opposite side of which terminate the two most considerable streets of the city.

The tents of such Rajas as are in the King's pay, and whose weekly turn it is to mount guard, are pitched in this square; those petty sovereigns having an insuperable objection to be enclosed within walls.\(^1\) The guard within the fortress is mounted by the Omrahs and Mansebdars.

In this place also at break of day they exercise the royal horses, which are kept in a spacious stable not far distant; and here the Kobal-kan, or grand Muster-master of the cavalry, examines carefully the horses of those who have been received into the service. If they are found to be Turki horses, that is, from Turkistan or Turtury,² and of a proper size and adequate strength, they are branded on the thigh with the King's mark and with the mark of the Omruk under whom the horseman is enlisted. This is well contrived, to prevent the loan of the same horses for different review days.³

Here too is held a bazar or market for an endless variety of things; which like the Pont-neuf at Paris, is the rendez-vous for all sorts of mountchanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both Mahometan and Gentile. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun, on a dusty

¹ See p. 210.

^{*} Called Turki horses, and reckoned by Akbar as third class.

Akbar introduced, or rather revived, very elaborate regulations for branding the royal horses. See Ain, vol. l. p. 139 et geg.

piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments, and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiae. In this way they attract the attention of the passengers, and impose upon the people, by whom they are considered as so many infallible oracles. They tell a poor person his fortune for a payana (which is worth about one sol); and after examining the hand and face of the applicant, turning over the leaves of the large book, and pretending to make certain calculations, these impostors decide upon the Saket 1 or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot, flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives, and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a serupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control.

The most ridiculous of these pretenders to divination was a half-caste Portuguese, a fugitive from Gon. This fellow sat on his carpet as gravely as the rest, and had many customers notwithstanding he could neither read nor write. His only instrument was an old manner's compass, and his books of astrology a couple of old Romish prayer-books in the Portuguese language, the pictures of which he pointed out as the signs of the European zodiac. A tal Bestias, tal Astrologuo, he unblushingly observed to the Jesuit, the Reverend Father Buze, who saw him at his work.

1 Read Sa'at, see p. 161.

For such brutes, such an astrologer, equivalent to Like menter, like man, or the Hindostance proverb, Suck a country, such a dress

Union der maisant bhet).

² The Chinese used a modified form of the mariner's compass for purposes of divination from an early period. See p. 169 et 189, of a Letter to Barron Humbohlt, on the Invention of the Mariner's Compass, by M. J. Klaprock. Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1834. Other Oriental nations appear to have done the same.

I am speaking only of the poor buzar-astrologers. Those who frequent the court of the grandees are considered by them eminent doctors, and become wealthy. The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition. Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners, and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them. They read whatever is written in heaven; fix upon the Sahel, and solve every doubt by opening the Koran.

The two principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading into the square, may be five-and-twenty or thirty ordinary paces in width. They run in a straight line nearly as far as the eye can reach; but the one leading to the Lakor gate is much the longer. In regard to houses the two streets are exactly alike. As in our Place Royale, there are areades on both sides; with this difference, however, that they are only brick, and that the top serves for a terrace and has no additional building. They also differ from the Place Royale in not having an uninterrupted opening from one to the other, but are generally separated by partitions, in the spaces between which are open shops, where, during the day, artisans work, bankers sit for the despatch of their business, and merchants exhibit their wares. Within the arch is a small door, opening into a warehouse, in which these wares are deposited for the night.

The houses of the merchants are built over these ware-houses, at the back of the areades; they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodions within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and emmunicate with the terrace-roofs over the shops, on which the inhabitants sleep at night; the houses, however, are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few, other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the shops being often too low to be seen from the street. The rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business.

There are five streets, not so long nor so straight as the two principal ones, but resembling them in every other respect. Of the numberless streets which cross each other, many have areades; but having been built at different periods by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are so well built, so wide, or so straight as those I have described.

Amid these streets are dispersed the habitations of Mansebdars, or petty Omraha, officers of justice, rich merchants, and others; many of which have a tolerable appearance. Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long, handsome, and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime.

Intermixed with these different houses is an immense number of small ones, built of mud and thatched with straw, in which ledge the common troopers, and all that vast multitude of servants and camp-followers who follow the court and the army.

It is owing to these thatched cottages that Dehli is subject to such frequent conflagrations. More than sixty thousand roofs were consumed this last year by three fires, during the prevalence of certain impetuous winds which blow generally in summer. So rapid were the flames that several camels and horses were burnt. Many of the inmates of the seraglio also fell victims to the devouring element; for these poor women are so bashful and helpless that they can do nothing but hide their faces at the sight of strangers, and those who perished possessed not sufficient energy to fly from the danger.

It is because of these wretched mud and thatch houses that I always represent to myself *Dehli* as a collection of many villages, or as a military encampment with a few more conveniences than are usually found in such

places. The dwellings of the Owrahs, though mostly situated on the banks of the river and in the suburbs, are vet scattered in every direction. In these hot countries a house is considered beautiful if it be capacious, and if the situation be airy and exposed on all sides to the wind, especially to the northern breezes. A good house has its courtyards, gardens, trees, basins of water, small jets of con in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterraneous apartments which are furnished with large fans, and on account of their coolness are fit places for repose from noon until four or five o'clock, when the air becomes sufficentingly warm. Instead of these cellars many personsprefer Kas-kanays,1 that is, small and neat houses made of straw or odoriferous roots placed commonly in the middle of a parterre, so near to a reservoir of water that the servants may easily moisten the outside by means of water brought in skins. They consider that a house to be greatly admired ought to be situated in the middle of a large flower-garden, and should have four large divan-apartments raised the height of a man from the ground, and exposed to the four winds, so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter. Indeed, no handsome dwelling is ever seen without terraces on which the family may sleep during the night. They always open into a large chamber into which the bedatead is easily moved in case of rain, when thick clouds of dust arise, when the cold air is felt at break of day, or when it is found necessary to guard against those light but penetrating dews which frequently cause a numbness in the limbs and induce a species of paralysis.

The interior of a good house has the whole floor covered

¹ Klaukkus, the roots of a plant, Androposon muricatus (Retz.), used for the well-known screens which are placed in the doorways of houses in India during the hot winds, and kept constantly wetted, to that the external air enters the house cool and fragrant. Rooms or khamahs, the himays of Bernlet, are sometimes made of these khamahs, the himays of Bernlet, are sometimes made of these khamahs.

with a cotton mattress four inches in thickness, over which a fine white cloth is spread during the summer, and a silk carpet in the winter. At the most conspicuous side of the chamber are one or two mattresses, with fine coverings quilted in the form of flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery, interspersed with gold and silver. These are intended for the master of the house, or any person of quality who may happen to call. Each mattress has a large cushion of brocade to lean upon, and there are other cushions placed round the room, covered with brocade, velvet or flowered satin, for the rest of the company. Five or six feet from the floor, the sides of the room are full of niches, cut in a variety of shapes, tasteful and well proportioned, in which are seen porcelain vases and flower-pots. The ceiling is gift and painted, but without pictures of man or beast, such representations being forbidden by the religion of the country.

This is a pretty fair description of a fine house in these parts, and as there are many in *Dehli* possessing all the properties above mentioned. I think it may be safely asserted, without disparagement to the towns in our quarter of the globe, that the capital of *Hindowstan* is not destitute of handsome buildings, although they bear no resemblance to those in *Europe*.

That which so much contributes to the beauty of European towns, the brilliant appearance of the shops, is wanting in Dehli. For though this city be the seat of a powerful and magnificent court, where an infinite quantity of the richest commodities is necessarily collected, yet there are no streets like ours of S. Denis, which has not perhaps its equal in any part of Asia. Here the costly merchandise is generally kept in warehouses, and the shops are seldom decked with rich or showy articles. For one that makes a display of beautiful and fine cloths, silk, and other stuffs striped with gold and silver, turbans embroidered with gold, and brocades, there are at least five-and-twenty where nothing is seen but pots of oil or

butter, piles of baskets filled with rice, barley, chick-peas, wheat, and an endless variety of other grain and pulse, the ordinary aliment not only of the Gentiles, who never eat meat, but of the lower class of Mahomelans, and a considerable portion of the military.

There is, indeed, a fruit-market that makes some show. It contains many shops which during the summer are well supplied with dry fruit from Persia, Balk, Bokara, and Samarkande; such as almonds, pistachios, and walnuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are, however, very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half. But nothing is considered so great a treat; it forms the chief expense of the Omrahs, and I have frequently known my Agah spend twenty crowns on fruit for his breakfast.

In summer the melons of the country are cheap, but they are of an inferior kind: there are no means of procuring good ones but by sending to Persia for seed, and sowing it in ground prepared with extraordinary care, in the manner practised by the grandees. Good melons, however, are scarce, the soil being so little congenial that

the seed degenerates after the first year.

Ambas,² or Mangues, are in season during two months in summer, and are plentiful and cheap; but those grown at Dehli are indifferent. The best come from Bengale, Golkonda, and Goa, and these are indeed excellent. I do not know any sweetment more agreeable.

1 A common practice to the present day, the round wooden boxes filled with grapes imbedded in cotton wool arriving in India about

November, brought by Afghan traders.

² Am or amild (from the Sanakrit amra), is the Northern Indian name for this well-known fruit. From the Tamil name, mining, was derived the Portuguese mange, Anglicised as mangee. The places named by Bernier are still renowned for the excellent quality of their mangees.

Pateques, or water-melons, are in great abundance nearly the whole year round; but those of Dehli are soft, without colour or sweetness. If this fruit be ever found good, it is among the wealthy people, who import the seed and cultivate it with much care and expense.

There are many confectioners' shops in the town, but the sweatmests are badly made, and full of dust and flies.

Bakers also are numerous, but the ovens are unlike our own, and very defective. The bread, therefore, is neither well made nor properly baked. That sold in the Fort is tolerably good, and the *Omrahs* bake at home, so that their bread is much superior. In its composition they are not sparing of fresh butter, milk, and eggs; but though it be raised, it has a burnt taste, and is too much like cake, and never to be compared to the *Pain de Gongsee*, and other delicious kinds, to be met with in *Paris*.

In the bazars there are shops where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways. But there is no trusting to their dishes, composed, for aught I know, of the flesh of eamels, horses, or perhaps oxen which have died of disease. Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which is not dressed at home.

Meat is sold in every part of the city; but instead of goats' flesh that of mutton is often palmed upon the buyer; an imposition which ought to be gnarded against, because mutton and beef, but particularly the former, though not unpleasant to the taste, are heating, flatulent, and difficult of digestion. Kid is the best food, but being

¹ Patrea is the word used by the Portuguese in India for a water melon (derived from the Arabic al-battibh), whence the French pattigue.

So called from the small town of Gonesse, about 91 miles to the north-cast of Paris, in the midst of a fine agricultural country, now and anciently celebrated for its corn, flour, and bread. It was the head-quarters of the British army on the 2d July 1815.

^{*} At the present time in Northern India the complaint of the Augio-Indian housewife is that goats' flesh is palmed off upon the buyer as mutton.

rarely sold in quarters, it must be purchased alive, which is very inconvenient, as the meat will not keep from morning to night, and is generally lean and without flavour. The goats' flesh found in quarters at the butchers' shops is frequently that of the she-goat, which is lean and tough.

But it would be unreasonable in me to complain; because since I have been familiarised with the manners of the people, it seldom happens that I find fault either with my meat or my bread. I send my servant to the King's purveyors in the Fort, who are glad to sell wholesome food, which costs them very little, at the high price I am willing to pay. My Agah smiled when I remarked that I had been for years in the habit of living by stealth and artifice, and that the one hundred and fifty crowns which he gave me monthly would not otherwise keep me from starving, although in France I could for half a rompie eat every day as good meat as the King.

As to capons, there are none to be had; the people being tender-hearted toward animals of every description, men only excepted; these being wanted for their Scraglion. The markets, however, are amply supplied with fowls, tolerably good and cheap. Among others, there is a small hen, delicate and tender, which I call Ethiopian, the

skin being quite black.1

Pigeons are exposed for sale, but not young ones, the Indians considering them too small, and saying that it would be cruel to deprive them of life at so tender an age.

This is a curious instance of the acute observation of Bernier. It is, as he tells us, the thin of certain fowis that is black, not the flesh as asserted by other travellers. Linachoten relates of the fowls of Mozambique, which he visited in August 1553, remaining there for two weeks, that 'There are certain bennes that are so blacke both of feathers, flesh, and bones, that being sodden they seeme as black as lake: yet of very sweet taste, and are accounted better than the other; whereof some are likewise found in India, but not so many as in Mozambique.'—Forage to East Indias, pp. 25, 26, vol. i. Hakkeyt Soc. Ed., 1885.

There are partridges, which are smaller than ours, but being caught with nets, and brought alive from a distance, are not so good as fowls. The same thing may be remarked of ducks and hares, which are brought alive in

crowded cages.

The people of this neighbourhood are indifferent fishermen; yet good fish may sometimes be bought, particularly two sorts, called sing-ala and ran.1 The former resembles our pike; the latter our carp. When the weather is cold, the people will not fish at all if they can avoid it; for they have a much greater dread of cold than Europeans have of heat. Should any fish then happen to be seen in the market, it is immediately bought up by the eunuclis, who are particularly fond of it; why, I cannot tell. Omrohs alone contrive to force the fishermen out at all times by means of the korrah, the long whip always

suspended at their door.

You may judge from what I have said, whether a lover of good cheer ought to quit Paris for the sake of visiting Dehli. Unquestionably the great are in the enjoyment of everything; but it is by dint of the numbers in their service, by dint of the korrah, and by dint of money. In Dehli there is no middle state. A man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably. My pay is considerable, nor am I sparing of money; yet does it often happen that I have not wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of hunger, the bazars being so ill supplied, and frequently containing nothing but the refuse of the grandees. Wine, that essential part of every entertainment, can be obtained in none of the shops at Dehli, although it might be made from the native grape, were not the use of that liquor prohibited equally by the Gentile and Mahometan law. drank some at Amed ahad and Golkonda, in Dutch and English houses, which was not ill-tasted. If wine be

¹ Sing-als is the ringl (Silarus pangentistimus, Buch.), and can the well-known rokal (Cyprinus denticulates Buch.), still considered the best ordinary river fish in Northern India.

sometimes found in the Mogol empire, it is either Chiraz or Canary. The former is sent by land from Persia to Bander Abaxy, where it is embarked for Sourate, from which port it reaches Dehli in forty-six days. The Conary wine is brought by the Datch to Souraie; but both these wines are so dear that, as we say at home, the taste is destroyed by the cost. A bottle containing about three Paris pints 1 cannot be purchased under six or seven crowns. The liquor peculiar to this country is Arac, a spirit drawn by distillation from unrefined sugar; the sale of which is also strictly forbidden, and none but Christians dare openly to drink it. Arme is a spirit as harsh and burning as that made from corn in Poland, and the use of it to the least excess occasions nervous and incurable disorders.2 A wise man will here accustom himself to the pure and fine water, or to the excellent lemonade,2 which costs little and may be drunk without injury. To say the truth, few persons in these hot climates feel a strong desire for wine, and I have no doubt that the happy ignorance which prevails of many distempers is fairly ascribable to the general habits of sobriety among the people, and to the profuse perspiration to which they are perpetually subject.4 The gout, the

About three imperial quarts, English.

² See p. 441.

Made ordinarily of squeezed these and water, the minest (lime) paint (water) of the present day. For those who could afford it, there were various shorbers; rose water and sugar being added to the juice

of limes, pomegranates, and the like.

^{*} Fryer, writing of the mortality among the English at Bombay and the parts adjacent, says; 'Notwithstanding this Mortality to the English, the Country People and naturalised Portuguli live to a good Old Age, supposed to be the Reward of their Temperance; indulging themselves neither in Strong Drinks, nor devouring Flesh as we do. But I believe rather we are here, as Eastrick Plants brought home to us, not agreeable to the Soil: For to the Lustier and Fresher, and oftentimes the Temperatest, the Clime more unkind; but to Old Men and Women it seems to be more saitable.'—A new around of East Instituted and Partia (ed. Crooks, Hakluyt Society, 1909; vol. 1, p. 180).

stone, complaints in the kidneys, catarrhs and quartan agues are nearly unknown; and persons who arrive in the country afflicted with any of these disorders, as was the case with me, soon experience a complete cure. Even the venereal disease, common as it is in *Hindonstan*, is not of so virulent a character, or attended with such injurious consequences, as in other parts of the world. But although there is a greater enjoyment of health, yet there is less vigour among the people than in our colder climates; and the feebleness and languor both of body and mind, consequent upon excessive heat, may be considered a species of unremitting malady, which attacks all persons indiscriminately, and among the rest Europeans not yet inured to the heat.

Workshops, occupied by skilful artisans, would be vainly sought for in Dehli, which has very little to boast of in that respect. This is not owing to any inability in the people to cultivate the arts, for there are ingenious men in every part of the Indies. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instruction from a master. Sometimes they imitate so perfectly articles of European manufacture that the difference between the original and copy can hardly be discerned. Among other things, the Indians make excellent muskets, and fowling-pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of those articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith. I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and ministures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of Ekbar, painted on a shield 1 by a celebrated artist, who

¹ In the Times newspaper of the 20th March 1891, will be found an interesting account of a shield, called the Ramayana shield, then just completed, the work of the premier Jeypore state workman, Ganga Bakah, Khati, who executed the work under the direction of Surgeon-Major T. H. Hendley, C.I.E., the Residency Sargeon, and Honorary

is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The Indian painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions, and in the expression of the face; but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art.¹

Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour, The rich will have every

Secretary, Jeypore Museum. On this shield the story of the Ramayana is told in a series of plaques, 'nearly all of which are faithful reproductions in relief, in silver-placed brans, of paintings by the most celebrated artists who flourished in Akhar's time.' It is further stated that Dr. Hendley has arranged for the production of two more large shields. One of these will be a companion to the Ramayana shield, the story of the Mahabharina being taken as the second great epic poem of the Hindoos. Here, again, the paintings of Akhar's time will be copied. The other shield will be known as the Ashwameda (horse sacrifice) shield, and will contain seven plaques, illustrating the sacrifice which Yudhiahabtra performed, an incident in the Mahábhárate, the drawings being taken from Akhar's own copy of the Kazamanah, or Persian versian of the great Hindoo epic. Jeypore will thus eventually possess three specimens of metal-work in relief unrivalled throughout India. In this connection, see p. 258, footnote *.

I 'I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likeness of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are, for a well-regulated mind, a source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigored followers of the letter of the law are bostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth. One day at a private party of friends, Illa Majesty [the Emperor Akhar], who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked, "There are many that bute painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in aketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus in-

crease in knowledge." - Ain, vol. i. p. 108.

article at a cheap rate. When an Omrah or Mansebdat requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazar for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the korrah has not been given in part payment. How then can it be expected that any spirit of ciulation should animate the artist or manufacturer? Instead of contending for a superlority of reputation, his only anxiety is to finish his work, and to earn the pittance that shall supply him with a piece of bread. The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the King or of some powerful Omrah, and who work exclusively for their patron.

The citadel contains the Seraglio and other royal edifices; but you are not to imagine that they are such buildings as the Lowere or the Escurial. The edifices in the Fort have nothing European in their structure; nor ought they, as I have already observed, to resemble the architecture of France and Spain. It is sufficient if they have that magnificence which is suited to the climate.

The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable except two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of Jewel, the renowned Raja of Chitor; on the other is the statue of Polta, his brother. These are the brave heroes who, with their still braver mother,

^{1.} The palace at Delhi is, or rather was, the most magnificent palace in the East, perhaps in the world, and the only one, at least in India, which enables us to understand what the arrangements of a complete palace were when deliberately undertaken, and carried out in one uniform plan. Fergusson, History of Indian Architectures, edition of 1876. The harem and other private apartments of the palace alone covered more than twice the area of the Escurial, or, in fact, of any palace in Europe.

immortalised their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated Ekbar; who defended the towns besieged by that great Emperor with unshaken resolution; and who, at length reduced to extremity, devoted themselves to their country, and chose rather to perish with their mother in sallies against the enemy than submit to an insolent invader. It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part, that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory. These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe.¹

After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street,2 divided in the midst by a canal of running water. The street has a long divan, or raised way, on both sides, in the manner of the Poulacuf, five or six feet high and four broad. Bordering the divan are closed areades, which run up the whole way in the form of gates. It is upon this long divan that all the collectors of market-dues and other petty officers exercise their functions without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass in the street below. The Manachdars or inferior Omrahs mount guard on this raised way during the night. The water of the canal runs into the Seraglio, divides and intersects every part, and then falls into the ditches of the fortification. This water is brought from

Rajas Jaimal and Pattá or Fatta. Chittor was besieged and taken by Akhat in 1568. For an interesting note on these statues, and a discussion of many vexed points in connection therewith, see Appendix A. of A Handbook for Visitors to Delki and its Neighbourhood, H. G. Keene, M.L.A.S., Fourth edition: Calculus; Thacker, Spink & Co., 1882

The two figures are now in the Museum at Delhi, and one of the elephants it in the public gardens there. The other elephant seems to have totally disappeared. The statues themselves were discovered about 1863, buried among some rubbish lustile the Fort.

^{*} The well-known Chandni Chouk, or 'Silver Street.'

the river Geoma by means of a canal opened at a distance of five or six leagues above Dehly, and cut with great

labour through fields and rocky ground.1

The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of areades. Properly speaking, this street is a bazar, rendered very convenient in the sammer and the rainy season by the long and high arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are admitted by several large round apertures in the roof.

Besides these two streets, the citadel contains many smaller ones, both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the Omrahs mount guard, during four-and-twenty hours, in regular rotation, once a week. The places where this duty is performed may be called splendid, the Omrahs making it a point to adorn them at their own expense. In general they are spacious divans or alcoves facing a flower-garden, embellished by small canals of running water, reservoirs, and fountains. The Omrahs on guard have their table supplied by the King. Every meal is sent ready dressed, and is received by them with all suitable ceremony, they three times performing the taslim, or salute of grateful acknowledgment, by turning the face toward the King's residence, and then raising the hand to the head and lowering it to the ground.²

There are, besides, many divans and tents in different parts of the fortress, which serve as offices for public business.

Large halls are seen in many places, called Kar-kanays

The canal was made by Ali Mardán Khan; see p. 184, footnote 4.

Before taking leave, or presentation, or upon receiving a minimal, a jugit or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the sule is to make three farliman but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents made. — Aim, vol. 1, p. 158. See p. 214, footnote.".

* Aldrehainan. In the palace of the Mahárajá of Benares, at Ramnagar, may still be seen excellent examples of such 'palace workshops,' which have served not a little to maintain a high standard of workmanahip, or many of the specialities of the district. See p. 228.

or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, jourers, turners, tailors, and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needlework.

The artisans repair every morning to their respective Kar-kanays, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away; no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born. The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician. No one marries but in his own trade or profession; and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by Mahometaus as by the Gentiles, to whom it is expressly enjoined by their law. Many are the beautiful garls thus doomed to live singly, girls who might marry advantageously if their parents would connect them with a family less noble than their own.

I must not forget the Am-Kas, to which you at length arrive, after passing the places just mentioned. This is really a noble edifice: it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our Place Royale, with this difference, however, that the arcades of the Am-Kas have no buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other. Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open

¹ Am-Khas, place of audience. See p. 261,

on the side of the court, called the Nagar-Kanay.1 In this place, which thence derives its name, are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and cymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night. To the ears of an European recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hantboys, and as many cymbals, which play together. One of the hautboys, called Kurna, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a foot. The cymbals of brass or iron are some of them at least a fathom in diameter. You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the Nagar-Kanay. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable; but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure; in the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand, and melodious. This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hantboy and cymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance. The Nague-Kanay is placed in an elevated situation, and remote from the royal apartments, that the King may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music.

Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the Nagar-Kanay, as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent hall, decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground, and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the

Makirakkhanak, from makirak a drum, and khanak a room or turnet chamber. The makirak resembled a kettle-drum, and twenty pairs were used in the royal unkarahkhanah, of karnas, 'they never blow less than four' (Ain), and three pairs of cymbals, called any.

Seruglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left; while connechs standing about the royal person flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is an enclosure, surrounded by silver rails, in which are assembled the whole body of Omrahs, the Rojas, and the Ambasiadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the Mansebdars or inferior Omrahs, also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard, is filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor; because it is in this extensive hall that the King gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects: hence it is called Am-Kas, or audience-chamber of high and low.

During the hour and a half, or two hours, that this ceremony continues, a certain number of the royal horses pass before the throne, that the King may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition. The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well washed and painted as black as ink, with two large red streaks from the top of the head down to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of a massive silver chain placed over their back, and white cow-tails? from Great Tibet, of large value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants, superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service.

The celebrated /harshid, still to be seen at Delhl.

The tails of the Tibetan ox or yak, called chownes, still in common use in India.

As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with a solemn and dignified step; and when in front of the throne, the driver, who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the tailing or usual reverence.

Other animals are next introduced :- tame antelopes, kept for the purpose of fighting with each other; 1 Nilguax, or grey oxen, that appear to me to be a species of elk; rhinoceroses; large Bengale buffaloes with prodigious horns which enable them to contend against lions and tigers; tame leopards, or panthers, employed in hunting antelopes; some of the fine sporting dogs from Unbee, of every kind, and each dog with a small red covering; lastly, every species of the birds of prey used in field sports for eatching patridges, cranes, hares, and even, it is said, for hunting antelopes, on which they ponnee with violence, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.3

Besides this procession of animals, the cavalry of one or two Omrahs frequently pass in review before the King; the horsemen being better dressed than usual, the horses furnished with iron armour, and decorated with an endless variety of fantastic trappings.

The King takes pleasure also in having the blades of cutlasses tried on dead sheep, brought before him without

4 Literally 'blue cows,' the Hindostauce name being Nilgan. See

page 364, footnote , also page 377.

³ The Emperor Akhar was very food of this sport, and in the Ain (pp. 218-222) will be found full details regarding the kinds of fighting deer, how they were fought, together with claborate regulations as to the betting allowed on such encounters.

See the illustration of a Barkut eagle attacking a deer, from Atkinson's Siberia, at p. 385, vol. i. of Yule's Marro Pale, second ed., 1875, and the chapter (xviii, same vol.) on the unimals and birds kept by the Kaan for the chase.

the entrails and neatly bound up. Young Omraka, Mansebdars, and Gourze-berdars, or mace-bearers, exercise their skill, and put forth all their strength to cut through the four feet, which are fastened together, and the body of

the sheep at one blow.

But all these things are so many interludes to more serious matters. The King not only reviews his cavalry with peculiar attention, but there is not, since the war has been ended, a single trooper or other soldier whom he has not inspected, and made himself personally acquainted with, increasing or reducing the pay of some, and dismissing others from the service. All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the Am-Kas are brought to the King and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the Monarch himself, who often redresses on the spot the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower orders, and presented to the King by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the justice-chamber, called Adalet-Kanay, on another day of the week, attended by the two principal Kadis,2 or chief justices. It is evident, therefore, that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects.

What I have stated in the proceedings of the assembly of the Am-Kas appears sufficiently rational and even noble: but I must not conceal from you the base and disgusting adulation which is invariably witnessed there. Whenever a word escapes the lips of the King, if at all to the purpose, how trifling soever may be its import, it is immediately eaught by the surrounding throng; and the chief Omraha, extending their arms towards heaven, as if to receive some

Gurz-bardár, from gurz, a Persian word, signifying a mace or warclub.

² Kadi, the Arabic word for a judge, colloquially Kari.

benediction, exclaim Karamat! Karamat! wonderful! wonderful! he has spoken wonders! Indeed there is no Mogol who does not know and does not glory in repeating this proverb in Persian verse:

Aguer chah rongra Goyed cheb est in Bubayed Gouft inck mab ou peruin.

[If the monarch says that day is night,
Raply :- 'The moon and stars shine bright.']
(Lit. 'I see the moon and Plelades.'-Inck is corrupt.)

The vice of flattery pervades all ranks. When a Mogol, for instance, has occasion for my services, he comes to tell me by way of preamble, and as matter of course, that I am the Aristotalis, the Bocrate, and the Aboliysina-Ulzaman," the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the age. At first I endeavoured to prevent this fulsome mode of address by assuring my visitors that I was very far from possessing the merit they seemed to imagine, and that no comparison ought to be made between such great men and me; but finding that my modesty only increased their praise, I determined to accustom my cars to their flattery as I had done to their music. I shall here relate an ancedote which I consider quite characteristic. A Brahmen Pendet or Gentile doctor, whom I introduced into my Agali's service, would fain pronounce this panegyrie; and after comparing him to the greatest Conquerors the world has ever known, and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nanseous and impertinent observations. he concluded his harangue in these words, uttered with all conceivable seriousness: 'When, my Lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps; the eight elephants, on whose heads it is borne, finding it impossible to support the extraordinary pressure.' The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might be expected.

Agur Shih rourd goyad thab ast in, Bibligad guft, bluam mah d Parvin.

² Bd-Avisinna uz-samun.

I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance, to tell my Agah, whose risibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes, which often caused so much mischief. 'Yes, my friend,' he answered without hesitation, 'and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a Paleky.'1

The grand hall of the Am-Kas opens into a more retired chamber, called the Gosel-Kané,2 or the place to wash in. Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the Am-Kas. The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large platform. It is in this place that the King, seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state. Every Omrah incurs the same pecuniary penalty for omitting to attend this assembly in the evening as for failing to be present at the Am-Kas in the morning. The only grandee whose daily attendance is dispensed with is my Agah, Danechmend-Kan, who enjoys this exemption in consequence of his being a man of letters, and of the time he necessarily devotes to his studies or to foreign affairs; but on Wednesdays, the day of the week on which he mounts guard, he attends in the same manner as other Omrahs. This custom of meeting twice a day is very ancient; and no Omrah can reasonably complain that it is binding, since the King seems to consider it as obligatory upon himself

¹ Sir William Jones quotes approvingly this passage from Bernier in his dissertation on Eastern poetry, in that portion of chapter 1., Asiaticos ferd omnes Poeticas impensius esse deditos, devoted to a consideration of Indian verse, p. 352, vol. ii. of the quarto edition of his works in six vols. London, 1799.

² Chusi khanah, although strictly meaning a bath-room, was the name applied to the more private apartments in a Mogul palace.

as upon his courtiers to be present; 1 nothing but urgent business, or serious bodily affliction, preventing him from appearing at the two assemblies. In his late alarming illness Aureng-Zebe was carried every day to the one or the other, if not to both. He felt the necessity of showing himself at least once during the twenty-four hours; for his disorder was of so dangerous a character that his absence, though only for one day, might have thrown the whole kingdom into trouble and insurrection and caused

the closing of every shop.2

Although the King, when scated in the hall of Givet-Kanay, is engaged about such affairs as I have mentioned, yet the same state is maintained for the most part as in the Am-Kas; but being late in the day, and the adjoining court being small, the cavalry of the Omraha does not pass in review. There is this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly, that all the Manschdars who are on guard pass before the King to salute him with much form. Before them are borne with great ceremony that which they call the Kours, to wit, many figures of silver, beautifully made, and mounted on large silver sticks: two of them represent large fish; two others a horrible and fantastic animal called Eiceleha; others are the figures of two lions; others of

¹ 'Hir Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty-four-hours, when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance.'—Ain, vol. I. p. 157. The first public appearance of the Emperor was called Darian, from the Sanskrit daryone, sight, Greek hipsona.

⁴ See pp. 193-196.

^{*} Aur was the name given to the collection of flags, arms, and other insignia of royalty.

^{*} Mishi mardith, or insignia of the fish, one of the ensigns of Mogui royalty.

^{*} Ashdaha, a drogon,

^{*} The royal standard of the great Mogal, which is a couchwat lion shadowing part of the body of the sun. —Terry's Voyage to East India. London, ed. 1777, p. 347, with plate.

two hands, and others of scales; and several more which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians attach a certain mystic meaning. Among the Kours and the Mansebdars are mixed many Gourze-berdars, or mace-bearers chosen for their tall and handsome persons, and whose business it is to preserve order in assemblies, and to carry the King's orders, and execute his commands with the utmost speed.

It would afford me pleasure to conduct you to the Seraglio, as I have introduced you into other parts of the fortress. But who is the traveller that can describe from ocular observation the interior of that building? I have sometimes gone into it when the King was absent from Dehli, and once pretty far I thought, for the purpose of giving my professional advice in the case of a great lady so extremely ill that she could not be moved to the outward gate, according to the customs observed upon similar occasions; but a Kachemire shawl covered my head, hanging like a large scarf down to my feet, and an eunuch led me by the hand, as if I had been a blind man. You must be content, therefore, with such a general description as I have received from some of the eunuchs. They inform me that the Seraglio contains beautiful apartments, separated, and more or less spacious and splendid, according to the rank and income of the females. Nearly every chamber has its reservoir of running water at the door; on every side are gardens, delightful alleys, shady retreats, streams, fountains, grottoes, deep excavations that afford shelter from the sun by day, lofty divans and terraces, on which to sleep coolly at night. Within the walls of this enchanting place, in fine, no oppressive or inconvenient heat is felt. The eunuchs speak with extravagant praise of a small tower, facing the river, which is covered with plates

1 Panja.

² The symbol of a pair of scales, in gold and colours, can still be seen in the middle of the screen of marble tracery-work separating the Divan: kháss from the private rooms in the palace at Delhi.

of gold, in the same manner as the two towers of Agra; and its apartments are decorated with gold and azure exquisite paintings and magnificent mirrors.¹

Before taking our final leave of the fortress, I wish to recall your attention to the Am-Kas, which I am desirous to describe as I saw it during certain annual festivals; especially on the occasion of the rejoicings that took place after the termination of the war. Never did I witness a more extraordinary scene.

The King appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an Oriental topaz,2 which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls, suspended from his neck, reached to the stomach, in the same manner as many of the Gentiles wear their strings of beads. The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I cannot tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge of their water and clearness; but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four Kourours of Roupies. I observed elsewhere that a Lecque is one hundred thousand

¹ The Khass Mahall, still one of the wonders of the world, and visited by travellers from far and wide.

This was probably the jewel shown to Tavernier, on the 2d November 1665 (Travels, vol. i. p. 400), and described by him as 'of very high colour, cut in eight panels.' He gives its weight as 158½ Florentine carats, or 152½ English carats, and states that 'it was bought at Goa for the Great Mogul for the sum of 181,000 rupees or 271,500 livres [£20,412, 10s.] of our money.' It is figured by Tavernier.

roupies, and that a Kourour is a hundred Lecques; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of roupies, worth sixty millions of pounds [livres] or thereabouts. It was constructed by Chah-Jehan, the father of Aureny-Zebe, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient Rajas and Patans, and the annual presents to the Monarch, which every Omrah is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not worthy of the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed.2 They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth, named 3 who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe, by means of false gems, which he fabricated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the Great Mogol's court, where he made his fortune.

At the foot of the throne were assembled all the Omraks, in splendid apparel, upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing, and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The

¹ Which, at 2s. 3d. to the rupee, would amount to £4,500,000. Tavernier's corrected valuation was (see Appendix III.) £12,037,500.

² See Appendix 111. p. 474, for Tavernier's account of this throne (Travels, vol. i. pp. 381-385) the remains of which, now in the Shah of Persia's possession in the Treasury at Teheran, have been valued at about £2,600,000 (S. G. W. Benjamin in the volume on 'Persia' in the Story of the Nations series); and truly styled, although but a mere wreck of the throne as seen by Tavernier and Bernier, 'the grandest object of sumptuary art ever devised by man.' The throne was part of the plunder which Nadir Shah took with him to Persia when he sacked Delhi in 1739.

³ Bernier does not tell us his name, but Steuart, in his edition of part of this book, Calcutta, 1826 (see Bibliography, No. 18), gives it as La Grange. I have not been able to verify this.

floor was covered entirely with earpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent, called the aspek, was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court, and was completely enclosed by a great balestrade, covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a barque, the others smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Maslipatam chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural and colours so vivid, that the tent seemed to be encompassed with real parterres.

As to the areade galleries round the court, every Ommh had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense, and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best acquit himself to the Monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all the areades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade, and the payement with rich carpets.

On the third day of the festival, the King, and after him several Omrahs, were weighed with a great deal of ceremony in large scales, which, as well as the weights, are, they say, of solid gold. I recollect that all the courtiers expressed much joy when it was found that Aureng-Zebe weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Similar festivals are held every year, but never before were they celebrated with equal splendour and expense. It is thought that the principal inducement with the King for the extraordinary magnificence displayed on this occasion was to afford to the merchants an opportunity of disposing of the quantities of brocades, which the war had

¹ Chittee in the original, a correption of the word chem, the Indian name, whence chints. The best came from Masulipatam (Maslipatam) on the Madras coast. See p. 352.

² Many curious details concerning this ceremony are to be found in the Ain, vol. 1. pp. 266, 267.

for four or five years prevented them from selling.\textsupers The expense incurred by the Omrahs was considerable, but a portion of it fell ultimately on the common troopers, whom the Omrahs obliged to purchase the brocades to be made up into vests.

An ancient custom attends these anniversary days of rejoicing, not at all agreeable to the Omrahs. They are expected to make a handsome present to the King, more or less valuable according to the amount of their pay.2 Some of them, indeed, take that opportunity of presenting gifts of extraordinary magnificence, sometimes for the sake of an ostentatious display, sometimes to divert the King from instituting an inquiry into the exactions committed in their official situations or governments, and sometimes to gain the favour of the King, and by that means obtain an increase of salary. Some present fine pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies; others offer vessels of gold set with precious stones; others again give a quantity of gold coins. each worth about a pistole and a half.8 During a festival of this kind Aureng-Zebe having paid a visit to Jafer-kan.4 not as his Vizir but as a kinsman, on the pretext that he wished to see a house which he lately erected, the Vizir made a present to the King of gold coins to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, some handsome pearls, and a ruby, which was estimated at forty thousand crowns, but which Chah-Jehan, who understood better than any man the value of every kind of precious stone, dis-

¹ See p. 459.

² This payment was called *Pesh-kash*, and corresponded somewhat to the modern income-tax. See p. 191, footnote ³.

³ A single *pistole* was worth about 16s. 9d., which would give about 25s. as the value of these coins. Or the double pistole, worth about £1, 13s. 3d. may be meant, in which case the coins referred to were probably specially minted gold mohurs prepared for the purpose.

⁴ Jáfar Khán, entitled Umdat-ul-Mulk, was appointed Prime Minister by Aurangzeb (Alamgir) in 1662, and died in 1670 at Dehli. He was the son of Sádík Khán, a cousin of Núr Jahán's, who had married one of her sisters; hence his kinship to Aurangzeb.

covered 1 to be worth less than five hundred, to the great confusion of the principal jewellers, who in this instance had been completely deceived.2

A whimsical kind of fair 3 is sometimes held during these festivities in the Mehale, or royal seraglio: it is conducted by the handsomest and most engaging of the wives of the Omrahs and principal Mansebdars. The articles exhibited are beautiful brocades, rich embroideries of the newest fashion, turbans elegantly worked on cloth of gold, fine muslins worn by women of quality, and other articles of high price. These bewitching females act the part of traders, while the purchasers are the King, the Begums or Princesses, and other distinguished ladies of the Seraglio. If any Omrah's wife happens to have a handsome daughter. she never fails to accompany her mother, that she may be seen by the King and become known to the Begums. The charm of this fair is the most ludicrous manner in which the King makes his bargains, frequently disputing for the value of a penny. He pretends that the good lady cannot possibly be in earnest, that the article is much too dear, that it is not equal to that he can find elsewhere, and that positively he will give no more than such a price. The woman, on the other hand, endeavours to sell to the

When the question was referred to him as an expert, by Aurangzeb, as we learn from Tavernier's narrative.

² Tavernier figures this ruby, and gives a full account of the incident narrated by Bernier, in his *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 127, 128.

assembly, for the purpose of inquiring into the many wonderful things found in this world. The merchants of the age are eager to attend, and lay out articles from all countries. The people of His Majesty's harem come, and the women of other men also are invited, and buying and selling is quite general. His Majesty uses such days to select any articles which he wishes to buy, or to fix the prices of things, and thus add to his knowledge. The secrets of the Empire, the character of the people, the good and bad qualities of each office and workshop will then appear. His Majesty gives to such days the name of Khushroz, or the joyful day, as they are a source of much enjoyment.'—Ain, vol. i. pp. 276, 277.

best advantage, and when the King perseveres in offering what she considers too little money, high words frequently ensue, and she fearlessly tells him that he is a worthless trader.1 a person ignorant of the value of merchandise; that her articles are too good for him, and that he had better go where he can suit himself better, and similar jocular expressions.2 The Begums betray, if possible, a still greater anxiety to be served cheaply; high words are heard on every side, and the loud and scurrilous quarrels of the sellers and buyers create a complete farce. But sooner or later they agree upon the price, the Princesses, as well as the King, buy right and left, pay in ready money, and often slip out of their hands, as if by accident, a few gold instead of silver roupies, intended as a compliment to the fair merchant or her pretty daughter. The present is received in the same unconscious manner, and the whole ends amidst witty jests and good-humour.

Chah-Jehan was fond of the sex and introduced fairs at every festival, though not always to the satisfaction of some of the Omrahs.³ He certainly transgressed the bounds of decency in admitting at those times into the seraglio singing and dancing girls called Kenchens (the gilded, the blooming), and in keeping them there for that purpose

¹ In the original, 'un Marchand de neige.'

² In the original, 'et ainsi de ces autres raisons de Dame Jeanne.' Similar badinage was indulged in at like fairs (*meena bazar*) held at Lucknow, during the reigns of some of the kings of Oudh, notably Nuseer-ood-deen Hyder and Wajid Ali.

³ The orthodox Moslems at the Mogul Court were always opposed to these fairs. Badáoní, the fearless historian of Akbar's reign (circa 1596), who was bitterly opposed to the Emperor's religious policy, records of these fairs that, 'In order to direct another blow at the honour of our religion, His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bázárs, which are held on New Year's Day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the harem, and also for any other married ladies. On such occasions, His Majesty spent much money; and the important affairs of harem people, marriage contracts, and betrothals of boys and girls, were arranged at such meetings.'

the whole night; they were not indeed the prostitutes seen in bazaars, but those of a more private and respectable class, who attend the grand weddings of Omraha and Mansebdars, for the purpose of singing and dancing. Most of these Kenchens are handsome and well dressed, and sing to perfection; and their limbs being extremely supple, they dance with wonderful agility, and are always correct in regard to time; after all, however, they were but common women. It was not enough for Chah-Jehan that the Kenchenz visited the fairs; when they came to him on the Wednesdays to pay their reverence at the Am-Kaz, according to an ancient custom, he often detained them the whole night, and amused himself with their anties and follies. Aureng-Zebe is more serious than his father; he forbids the Kenchens to enter the seraglio; but, complying with long established usage, does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the Am-Kas, where they make the salam from a certain distance, and then immediately retire.

While on the subject of festivals, fairs, and Kenchens, or Kenchenys, I am tempted to relate an ancedote of one of our countrymen, named Bernard. I agree with Plutarch, that trifling incidents ought not to be concealed, and that they often enable us to form more accurate opinions of the manners and genius of a people than events of great importance. Viewed in this light, the story, ridiculous as it is in itself, may be acceptable. Bernard resided at the court of Jehan-Guyre, during the latter years of that King's reign, and was reputed, with apparent justice, to be an excellent physician and a skilful surgeon. He enjoyed the favour of the Mogol, and became his companion at table, where they often drank together to excess.\footnote{1} The King

Catron says of Jahangir that 'All the Franks in Agra, that is, all Europeans of whatsoever nation, were allowed free access to the palace. He continued drinking in their company till the return of day, and he abandoned himself especially to these midnight debaucheries at the season which the Mahomedans observe as a fast with the most scrupulous exactness.'

and his physician possessed congenial tastes; the former thought only of his pleasures, and left the management of public affairs to his wife, the celebrated Nour-Mehale or Nour-Jehan-Begum, a woman, he used to say, whose transcendent abilities rendered her competent to govern the Empire without the interference of her husband. Bernard's daily and regular pay was ten crowns [écus]; but this was greatly increased by his attendance on the high ladies of the Seraglio and on all the Omrahs, who seemed to vie with each other in making him the most liberal presents, not only because of the cures he effected, but on account of his influence at court. This man, however, disregarded the value of money; what he received with one hand he gave with the other; so that he was much beloved by everybody, especially by the Kenchens, on whom he lavished vast sums. Among the females of this description who nightly filled his house, was a young and beautiful damsel, remarkable for the elegance of her dancing, with whom our countryman fell violently in love; but the mother, apprehending that the girl would lose her health and bodily vigour with her virginity, never for a moment lost sight of her, and she resisted all the overtures and incessant solicitations of the court physician. While in despair of obtaining the object of his affections, Jehan-Guyre, at the Am-Kas, once offered him a present before all the Omrahs by way of remuneration for an extraordinary cure which he had enected in the seraglio. 'Your Majesty,' said Bernard, 'will not be offended if I refuse the gift so munificently offered, and implore that in lieu thereof your Majesty would bestow on me the young Kencheny now waiting with others of her company to make the customary salam." The whole assembly smiled at this refusal of the present, and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a Christian and the girl a Mahometan and a Kencheny; but Jehan-Guyre, who never felt any religious scruples, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the

girl to be given to him, 'Lift her on the physician's shoulders,' he said, 'and let him carry the Kenchen away.' No sooner said than done. In the midst of a crowded assembly the girl was placed on Becnard's back, who withdrew triumplantly with his prize and took her to his house.

The festivals generally conclude with an amusement unknown in Europe—a combat between two elephants; which takes place in the presence of all the people on the



Fig. to -An elephant fight at Lucknew dading the Namabi.

sandy space near the river: the King, the principal lackers of the court, and the *Omrahs* viewing the spectacle from different apartments in the fortress.

A wall of earth is raised three or four feet wide and five or six high. The two ponderous beasts meet one another face to face, on opposite sides of the wall, each having a couple of riders, that the place of the man who sits on the shoulders, for the purpose of guiding the elephant with a large iron hook, may immediately be supplied if he should be thrown down. The riders animate

the elephants either by soothing words, or by chiding them as cowards, and urge them on with their heels, until the poor creatures approach the wall and are brought to the attack. The shock is tremendous, and it appears surprising that they ever survive the dreadful wounds and blows inflicted with their teeth, their heads, and their trunks. There are frequent pauses during the fight; it is suspended and renewed; and the mud wall being at length thrown down, the stronger or more courageous elephant passes on and attacks his opponent, and, putting him to flight, pursues and fastens upon him with so much obstinacy, that the animals can be separated only by means of cherkys,1 or fireworks, which are made to explode between them; for they are naturally timid, and have a particular dread of fire, which is the reason why elephants have been used with so very little advantage in armies since the use of fire-arms. The boldest come from Ceylon, but none are employed in war which have not been regularly trained, and accustomed for years to the discharge of muskets close to their heads, and the bursting of crackers between their legs.

The fight of these noble creatures is attended with much cruelty. It frequently happens that some of the riders are trodden underfoot, and killed on the spot, the elephant having always cunning enough to feel the importance of dismounting the rider of his adversary, whom he therefore endeavours to strike down with his trunk. So imminent is the danger considered, that on the day of combat the unhappy men take the same formal leave of their wives and children as if condemned to death. They are somewhat consoled by the reflection that if their lives should be preserved, and the King be pleased with their conduct, not only will their pay be augmented, but a sack of Peyssas (equal to fifty francs) will be presented to them

¹ Charkhl or wheel, catherine wheels on the end of a stick, a common firework in Northern India at the present day. For the mode of using them in elephant fights, see Fig. 10, opposite.

the moment they alight from the elephant.1 They have also the satisfaction of knowing that in the event of their death the pay will be continued to their widows, and that their sons will be appointed to the same situation. The mischief with which this amusement is attended does not always terminate with the death of the rider: it often happens that some of the spectators are knocked down and trampled upon by the elephants, or by the crowd; for the rush is terrible when, to avoid the infuriated combatants, men and horses in confusion take to flight. The second time I witnessed this exhibition I awed my safety entirely to the goodness of my horse and the exertions of my two servants.

But it is time we should quit the fortress, and return to the city, where I omitted to describe two edifices worthy

of notice.

The first is the principal Masquee, which is conspicuous at a great distance, being situated on the top of a rock in the centre of the town. The surface of the rock was previously levelled, and around it a space is cleared sufficiently large to form a handsome square, where four fine long streets terminate, opposite to the four sides of the Mosquee; one, opposite to the principal entrance, in front of the building; a second, at the back of the building; and

1 * Euch elephant has his match appointed for fighting; some are always ready at the palace and engage when the order is given. When a fight is over if the combatants were thank [i.e. for the Emperor's own use] elephants, the ohmis [attendants, of which each elephant had three in the rolling season, at other times two] receive 250 dimi as a present; but if other elephants the oheir got sood.'-stin, vol. l. p. 131. Forty dáres were worth one rupee. The dáns as an actual coin was usually named paird. One thousand paird (ildms) =25 rapees, or something more than 50 francs. It was the custom to keep hags of 1000 dilms at hand ready for distribution, as noted by Bernles.

The Jam'i Masjid, of which Bernier's is one of the best descriptions ever written. Is was begun in 1650, and finished six years later, not long before the deposition of its founder, the Emperor Shah Jahan. Fergusson says of it (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2nd ed. ii. 318), that it is one of the few mosques, either in India or elsewhere, that is designed to produce a pleasing effect externally."

the two others, to the gates that are in the middle of the two sides. The ascent to the three gates is by means of five-and-twenty or thirty steps of beautiful and large stones, which are continued the whole length of the front and sides. The back part is cased over, to the height of the rock, with large and handsome hewn stone, which hides its inequalities, and tends to give a noble appearance to the building. The three entrances, composed of marble, are magnificent, and their large doors are overlaid with finely wrought plates of copper. Above the principal gate, which greatly exceeds the others in grandeur of appearance, there are several small turrets of white marble that produce a fine effect; and at the back part of the Mosquée are seen three large domes, built also of white marble, within and without. The middle dome is much larger and loftier than the other two. The end of the Mosquée alone is covered: the space between the three domes and the principal entrance is without any roof; the extreme heat of the climate rendering such an opening absolutely necessary. The whole is paved with large slabs of marble. I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. I am satisfied that even in Paris a church erected after the model of this temple would be admired, were it only for its singular style of architecture, and its extraordinary appearance. With the exception of the three great domes, and the numerous turrets, which are all of white marble, the Mosquée is of a red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble: although it consists of a species of stone, cut with great facility, but apt to peel off in flakes after a certain time.1 The natives pretend that

¹ This is a marked characteristic of the red sandstone of Delhi, and it is not considered a good building material unless selected with great care.

the quarries from which it is taken reproduce the stone by degrees: this, if true, is very remarkable; but whether or not they rightly attribute it to the water which fills the quarries every year, I cannot decide.

The King repairs to this Mosquée every Friday, for the purpose of prayer, that day corresponding in Mahometan countries to our Sunday. The streets through which he passes are watered to lay the dust and temper the heat: two or three hundred musketeers form an avenue from the gate of the fortress, and as many more line both sides of a wide street leading directly to the mosque. The muskets of these soldiers are small but well finished, and have a sort of large scarlet covering with a little streamer on the top. Five or six horsemen, well mounted, are also ready at the fortress gate, and their duty is to clear the way for the King, keeping, however, at a considerable distance in advance, lest he should be incommoded by their dust. These preparations completed, his Majesty leaves the fortress, sometimes on an elephant, decorated with rich trappings, and a canopy supported by painted and gilt pillars; and sometimes in a throne gleaming with azure and gold, placed on a litter covered with scarlet or brocade, which eight chosen men, in handsome attire, carry on their shoulders. A body of Omrahs follow the King, some on horseback, and others in Palekys; and among the Omrahs are seen a great number of Mansebdars, and the bearers of silver maces, whom I have elsewhere described. I cannot say that this train resembles the pompous processions, or (which is a more appropriate term) the masquerades of the Grand Scignior, or the martial retinues of European Monarchs: its magnificence is of a different character; but it is not therefore the less royal.

The other edifice in *Dehly* to which I would draw your attention is what they call the *Karuansara* of the Princess, because built by the celebrated *Begum-Saheb*, *Chah-Jehan's* eldest daughter, of whom I have so often

^{1 &#}x27;Begam Sarái,' levelled to the ground after the mutiny (Stephen, p. 256).

spoken in my history of the late war. Not only this Princess, but all the Omrahs who wished to gain the favour of the old Monarch, embellished the new city at their own expense. The Karuansara is in the form of a large square with areades, like our Place Royale, except that the arches are separated from each other by partitions, and have small chambers at their inner extremities. Above the areades runs a gallery all round the building, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbek, and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate being closed at night. If in Paris we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such places would become warehouses for all kinds of merchandise. and the general resort of foreign merchants.1

Before I quit the subject of Dehli, I will answer by anticipation a question which I am sensible you wish to ask, namely, What is the extent of the population of that city, and the number of its respectable inhabitants, as compared with the capital of France? When I consider that Paris consists of three or four cities piled upon one another, all of them containing numerous apartments, filled, for the most part, from top to bottom, that the streets are throughd with men and women, on foot and horseback; with carts, chaises, and coaches; and that there are very few large squares, courts, or gardens; reflecting, I say, upon all these facts, Paris appears to me the musery of the world, and I can scarcely persuade myself that Dehli contains an equal number of people.

¹ But see p. 233, where Bernier does not pass such a favourable judgment on these buildings.

On the other hand, if we take a review of this metropolis of the Indies, and observe its vast extent and its numberless shops; if we recollect that, besides the Omrahs, the city never contains less than thirty-five thousand troopers, nearly all of whom have wives, children, and a great number of servants, who, as well as their masters, reside in separate houses; that there is no house, by whomsoever inhabited, which does not swarm with women and children; that during the hours when the abatement of the heat permits the inhabitants to walk abroad, the streets are crowded with people, although many of those streets are very wide, and, excepting a few carts, unincumbered with wheel carriages; if we take all these circumstances into consideration, we shall hesitate before we give a positive opinion in regard to the comparative population of Paris and Dehli; and I conclude, that if the number of souls be not as large in the latter city as in our own capital, it cannot be greatly less. As respects the better sort of people, there is a striking difference in favour of Paris, where seven or eight out of ten individuals seen in the streets are tolerably well clad, and have a certain air of respectability; but in Dehli, for two or three who wear decent apparel, there may always be reckoned seven or eight poor, ragged, and miserable beings, attracted to the capital by the army. I cannot deny, however, that I continually meet with persons neat and elegant in their dress, finely formed, well mounted, and properly attended. Nothing, for instance, can be conceived much more brilliant than the great square in front of the fortress at the hours when the Omrulis, Rajas, and Mansebdars repair to the citadel to mount guard, or attend the assembly of the Am-Kas. The Mansebdars flock thither from all parts, well mounted and equipped, and splendidly accompanied by four servants, two behind and two before, to clear the street for their masters. Omrahs and Rajas ride thither, some on horseback, some on majestic elephants; but the greater part are conveyed on the shoulders of six men, in rich Palekys, leaning against a thick cushion of brocade, and chewing their bet-lé, for the double purpose of sweetening their breath and reddening their lips. On one side of every paleky is seen a servant bearing the piquedans, or spitoon of porcelain or silver; on the other side, two more servants fan the luxurious lord, and flap away the flies, or brush off the dust with a peacock's-tail fan; three or four footmen march in front to clear the way, and a chosen number of the best formed and best mounted horsemen follow in the rear.

The country in the neighbourhood of Dehli is extremely fertile. It produces corn, sugar, unil or Indigo, rice, millet, and three or four other kinds of pulse, the food of the common people, in great abundance. Two leagues from the city, on the Agra road, in a place which the Mahametans call Koia Kotub-eddine, is a very old edifice, formerly a Deima, or Temple of idols, containing inscriptions written in characters different from those of any language spoken in the Indies, and so ancient that no one understands them.

In another direction, and at a distance of two or three leagues from *Dehli*, is the King's country house, called *Chah-limar*, a handsome and noble building, but not to be compared to *Fontainehleau*, *Saint Germain*, or *Versailles*. ⁴

From the Hindi pikidin, very necessary in connection with betelchewing. Pik is properly the saliva caused by the lime and spices and the pan leaf used with the betel-nut. See p. 214, footnote.

Anti was the old Portuguese name for Indigo, from the Arabic al-nil, pronounced an-nil. Nil is the common name in India, from the Sanshrit nila, blue.

³ Le. Khwaja Kuth-ud-din Hakhtyar Kaki of Uah, after whom the renowned mosque and minar are certainly named, not after Saltan Kuth-ud-din Ibak. As is well known, this mosque was begun in A.D. 1196, and to some extent built from the remains of ancient temples.

The Shalibmar gardens were begun about the fourth year of Shah Jahan's reign, 1632, and Catson states that their design was the invention of a Venetian.

assure you there are no such places in the vicinity of Dehli, nor seats such as Saint Cloud, Chantilly, Meudon, Liancour, Vaux, or Ruelles, or even the smaller country houses belonging to private gentlemen, citizens, or merchants; but this will create no surprise when it is considered that no subject can hold landed property in his own right. Between Dehli and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns such as travellers pass through in France; the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting; nothing is worthy observation but Maturas,1 where an ancient and magnificent temple of idols is still to be seen; a few tolerably handsome caravansaries, a day's journey from each other; and a double row of trees 2 planted by order of Jehan-Guyre, and continued for one hundred and fifty leagues, with small pyramids or turrets, erected from kasse to kasse, for the purpose of pointing out the different roads. Wells are also frequently met with, affording drink to travellers, and serving to water the young trees.

What I have said of Dehli may convey a correct idea of Agra, in regard at least to its situation on the Gemna, to the fortress or royal residence, and to most of its public buildings. But Agra having been a favourite and more frequent abode of the Kings of Hindonstan since the days of Ekbar, by whom it was built and named Akber-abad, it surpasses Dehli in extent, in the multitude of residences belonging to Omrahs and Rajas, and of the good stone or brick houses inhabited by private individuals, and in the number and conveniency of its Karuans-Serrals. Agra has also to boast of two celebrated mansoleums, of which I shall speak by-and-by: it is, however, without walls, and inferior in some respects to the other capital; for not having been

Mathara, considered by the Moguls one of the most fertile and agreeable situations in Hindomstan.

Which form such a prominent feature in all the early maps of the Mogal Empire, and in some are continued from Dehli to Labore.

The kos minars, 168 of which, including 103 in Rajputana, have been traced. Actual measurements between five pair of these kos minars, near Delhi, gave a mean of a miles, 4 far., 155 yds. to the kos.

constructed after any settled design, it wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish Dehli. Four or five of the streets, where trade is the principal occupation, are of great length and the houses tolerably good; nearly all the others are short, narrow, and irregular, and full of windings and corners: the consequence is that when the court is at Agra there is often a strange confusion, 1 believe I have stated the chief particulars wherein the two capitals differ; but I may add that Agra has more the appearance of a country town, especially when viewed from an eminence. The prospect it presents is rural, varied, and agreeable; for the grandees having always made it a point to plant trees in their gardens and courts for the sake of shade, the mansions of Omraha, Rajas, and others are all interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage, in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of Banyanes or Gentile merchants have the appearance of old castles buried in forests. Such a landscape yields peculiar pleasure in a hot and parched country, where the eye seeks in verdure for refreshment and repose.

You need not quit Paris, however, to contemplate the finest, the most magnificent view in the world; for assuredly it may be found on the Pont-neuf. Place yourself on that bridge during the day, and what can be conceived more extraordinary than the throngs of people and carriages, the strange bustle, the various objects by which you are surrounded? Visit the same spot at night, and what, I fearlessly ask, can impress the mind like the scene you will witness? The immunerable windows of the lofty houses seen from the bridge exhibit their chastened and subdued lights, while the activity and bustle, observable in the day seem to suffer no diminution until midnight. There honest citizens and-what never happens in Asia-their handsome wives and daughters perambulate the streets, without apprehension of quagmires or of thieves; and to complete the picture, you see, in every direction, long lines of brilliant lamps, burning with equal constancy in foul and fair weather. Yes, my friend, when you are on the Pont-neuf at Paris, you may boldly aver, on my authority, that your eyes behold the grandest of all the artificial scenes in the world, excepting possibly some parts of China and Japan, which I have not visited. What will this view be, what will be its beauty, when the Louvre is completed! when the Louvre, which it was thought would never be seen but as a mere design and on paper, shall have actual existence in fact!

I have purposely introduced the word 'artificial'; because in speaking of fine prospects, according to the common acceptation of the term, we must always except that view of Constantinople, as viewed from the middle of the great strait opposite Seraglio Point. Never shall I forget the overpowering delight I experienced when first I beheld that vast, and, as it seemed to me, enchanted amphitheatre. The view of Constantinople, however, derives its chief beauty from nature; whereas in Paris everything, or nearly so, is artificial; which, to my mind, gives more interest to the view of the latter; because the work of man so displayed indicates the capital of a great empire, the seat of a mighty monarch. I may indeed say, without partiality, and after making every allowance for the beauty of Dehli, Agra, and Constantinople, that Paris is the finest, the richest, and altogether the first city in the world.

The Jesuits have a church in Agra, and a building which they call a college, where they privately instruct in the doctrines of our religion the children of five and twenty or thirty Christian families, collected, I know not how, in Agra, and induced to settle there by the kind and charitable aid which they receive from the Jesuits. This religious order was invited hither by Ekbar at the period when the power of the Pariaguese in the Indies was at the highest; and that Prince not only gave them an annual income for

¹ The Louvre was not completed in accordance with the design referred to by Bernier until 1857, although portions of the work were completed in 1665 by Claude Perrault.

their maintenance, but permitted them to build churches in the capital cities of Agm and Lahor. The Jemits found a still warmer patron in Jehan-Guyre, the son and successor of Ekbar; but they were sorely oppressed by Chah-Jehan the son of Jehan-Guyre, and father of the present King Aureng-Zebe. That Monarch deprived them of their pension, and destroyed the church at Lahor and the greater part of that of Agra, totally demolishing the steeple, which contained a clock heard in every part of the city.

The good Fathers during the reign of Jehan-Guyre were sanguine in their expectation of the progress of Christianity in Hindonsian. It is certain that this Prince evinced the utmost contempt for the laws of the Koran, and expressed his admiration of the doctrines of our creed.* He permitted two of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to Mirza-Zulkarmin, who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the Seraglia. The pretext was that Mirza was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich Armeman, and having been brought to the Seraglia by Jehan-Guyre's desire.

The Jesuits say that this King was so determined to countenance the Christian religion that he formed the bold project of clothing the whole court in European costume. The dresses were all prepared, when the King, having privately arrayed himself in his new attire, sent for one of his principal Omrahs whose opinion he required concerning the meditated change. The answer, however, was so

¹ See p. 177. Catron states that it was Taj Mehál, the wife of Shah Jahán, who was a principal instrument in exasperating the mind of the Emperor against the Christians in general, and particularly the Portuguese, who had given an asylum to two of her daughters converted to Christianity by the missionaries.

⁴ His Majesty [i.e. Akbar] firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrine of jesus, ordered Princs Múrad [i.e. the second son of Akbar and brother of Jahángir (Salim)] to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness. — Ain, vol. i. p. 182.

appalling that Jelun-Guyre abandoned his design and affected to pass the whole affair as a joke.1

They also maintain that when on his death-hed he expressed a wish to die a Christian, and sent for those holy men, but that the message was never delivered. Many, however, deny this to have been the case, and affirm that Jehan-Guyre died, as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father Ebbar, of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion.

I am informed by a Mahometan, whose father belonged to Jehan-Gagre's household, that in one of that King's drumken frolics he sent for some of the most learned Mullahs, and for a Florentine priest, whom he named Father Atech,² in allusion to his fiery temper; and that the latter

"Catron gives a different version of this story. According to his account Jahangir, becoming impatient at the reproaches of the Moslem elders, who had admonished him that the use of certain meats was forbidden in the Koran, inquired of them "in what religion the use of drink and food of every species without distinction was permitted." The reply was in that of the Christian religion alone. "We must then," he rejoined, "all turn Christians." Let there be tailors brought to us, to converts our robes into close coats, and our turbans into halt. At these words the doctors trembled for their sect. Fear and interest made them hold a less severe language. They all declared that the sovereign was not bound by the precepts of the Kuran; and that the Monarch relight, without scruple, use whatever meats and drink were most agreeable to him."

"Attack being the Persian for fire. Catrou gives a different version of this story. According to him it was Father Joseph D'Acosta, Superior of the Jesuits in Agra, that proposed to Jahangir to earry out the ordeal. ""Let a large fire be lighted," said the Father, "and the chief of the Mahometan religion on one side enter it bearing the Alcoran, whilst on the other side I will cast myself into it, holding in my hand the Gospel. It will then be seen in whose favour Heaven will declare, whether for Jesus Christ or Mahometan. "At these wards the Emperor cast his eyes upon the Mahometan, who exhibited great symptoms of terror lest the challenge should be accepted. He took pity on the Moula, and refrained exacting him to serve a trial. As for the Jesuit, they caused him to change his name, and the Emperor no longer called him by any other than that of Father Ataxe, which means the Fire Father."

having, by his command, delivered an harangue in which he exposed the falsehoods of the Mahametan imposture, and defended the truths of his own persuasion, Jehan-Guyre said that it was high time something should be done to decide the controversy between the Jesuits and Mullahs. Let a pit be dug, he added, and a fire kindled. Father Atech, with the Gospel under his arm, and a Mullah, with the Koran, shall throw themselves into it, and I will embrace the religion of him whom the flames shall not consume. Father Atech declared his willingness to undergo the ordeal, but the Mullahs manifested the atmost dread, and the King felt too much compassion both for the one and the other to persevere in the experiment.

Whatever credit this story may deserve, it is indisputable that the Jesuits during the whole of Jehan-Guyre's reign were honoured and respected at this court, and that they entertained what appeared a well-grounded hope of the progress of the Gospel in Hindousian. Everything, however, which has occurred since the death of that Monarch, excepting perhaps the close intimacy between Dara and Father Huze', forbids us to indulge in any such expectation. But having entered insensibly upon the subject of missions, you will perhaps allow me to make a few observations, introductory to the long letter which I intend to write concerning that important topic.

The design, indeed, meets with my entire approbation; nor ought we to withhold the meed of praise from those excellent missionaries in this part of the world, especially the Capachins and Jesuits, who meekly impart religious instruction to all descriptions of men, without any mixture of indiscreet and bigoted zeal. To Christians of every denomination, whether Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobins, or others, the demeanour of these good pastors is affectionate and charitable. They are the refuge and consolation of distressed strangers and travellers, and by their great learning and exemplary lives expose to

shame the ignorance and licentions habits of infidels. Some unhappily there are who disgrace the Christian profession by notoriously profligate conduct, and who ought, therefore, to be immured in their convents instead of being invested with the sacred character of missionaries. Their religion is a mere mummery, and so far from aiding the cause of Christianity, they become stumbling-blocks in the way of those whom they were sent to enlighten and reelain; but these are merely the exceptions to a general rule which affect not the main argument. I am decidedly favourable to this establishment of missions, and the sending forth of learned and pious missionaries. They are absolutely necessary; and it is the honour as well as the peculiar prerogative of Christians to supply every part of the world with men bearing the same character and following the same benign object as did the Apostles. You are not, however, to conclude that I am so deluded by my love of missions as to expect the same mighty effects to be produced by the exertions of modern missionaries as attended the preaching of a single sermon in the days of the Apostles. I have had too much intercourse with infidels, and am become too well acquainted with the blindness of the human heart to believe we shall hear of the conversion, in one day, of two or three thousand men. I despair especially of much success among Mahometan Kings or Mahometan subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the East, I speak the language of experience when I say, that whatever progress may be made among Gentiles by the instruction and alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one Mahametan will be converted to Christianity. True it is that Mahamelans respect the religion of the New Testament: they never speak of Jesus Christ but with great veneration, or pronounce the word Ayra, which means Jesus, without adding Azeret,1 or majesty. They even believe with us that he was miraculously begotten and

born of a virgin mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allahl and the Roule-Allah, the Word of God and the Spirit of God. It is in vain to hope, however, that they will renounce the religion wherein they were born, or be persuaded that Mahomet was a false prophet. The Christians of Europe ought nevertheless to assist the missionaries by every possible means: their prayers, power and wealth, ought to be employed in promoting the glory of their Renermen; but the expense of the missions should be borne by Europeans, for it would be impelitie to lay burthens on the people abroad; and much care should be had that want may not drive any missionary to acts of meanness. Missions ought not only to be liberally provided, but should be composed of persons of sufficient integrity, energy, and intelligence always to bear testimony to the truth, to seek with eagerness opportunities of doing good,-in a word, to labour with unwearied activity and unabated zeal in their Lord's vineyard whenever and wherever He may be pleased to give them an opening. But although it be the duty of every Christian State to act in this manner, yet there ought to be no delusion : credence ought not to be given to every idle tale, and the work of conversion, which in fact is full of difficulty, should not be represented as a matter of easy accomplishment. We do not adequately estimate the strong hold which the Mahomelan superstition has over the minds of its votaries, to whom it permits the unrestrained indulgence of passions which the religion we require them to substitute in its stead declares must be subdued or regulated. Mahometanism is a pernicious code, established by force of arms, and still imposed upon mankind by the same brutal violence. To counteract its baneful progress, Christians must display the zeal, and use the means I have suggested, however clear it may be that this abominable imposture can be effectually destroyed only by the special and merciful interposition of Divine Providence. We may derive encourage-

¹ Kalamullah and Rabullah,

ment from the promising appearances lately witnessed in China, in Japan, and in the case of Jehan-Guyre. Missionaries have to contend, however, with another sad impediment—the irreverent behaviour of Christians in their churches, so dissonant from their belief of the peculiar presence of God upon their altars, and so different from the conduct of Mahometans, who never venture when engaged in the service of their mosques even to turn the head, much less to utter a monosyllable one to the other, but seem to have the mind impressed with protound and awful veneration.

The Dutch have a factory in Agra, in which they generally keep four or five persons. Formerly they carried on a good trade in that city by the sale of broadcloths, large and small looking-glasses, plain laces, gold and silver laces, and iron wares; likewise by the purchase of anil1 or Indigo, gathered in the neighbourhood of Agra, particularly at Biance,2 two days' journey from the city, whither they go once every year, having a house in the place. The Dutch used also to make extensive purchases of cloths not only at Jelapour, but at Laknan, a seven or eight days' journey from Agra, where they also have a house, and despatch a few factors every season. It seems, however, that the trade of this people is not now very lucrative, owing probably to the competition of the Armenians, or to the great distance between Agra and Accidents continually befall their caravans, which, to avoid the bad roads and mountains in the direct road through Gouleer and Brampour, travel by

Bayana, where there is still some indigo cultivation.

Jelapour, is most likely Jalalpur-Nahir, in the Fyzabad district of Oudh, about 52 miles to the south-east of Fyzabad, which is still a

tolerably flourishing weaving town.

¹ See p. 253, footnote 2,

^a The Feringai makel, or Franks' quarter, one of the divisions or wards of the city of Lucknow, is where this factory stood. The buildings were confiscated in the reign of Aurangreb, and made over to a Moslem for a Madrissah or college. An enclosure now used as a place for washing the Moslem dead is pointed out as part of the old factory.

way of Ahmed-abad, over the territories of different Rajas. But whatever may be the discouragements, 1 do not believe the Dutch will follow the example of the English, and abaudon their factory at Agra; because they still dispose of their spices to great advantage, and find it useful to have confidential persons near the court always ready to prefer a complaint against any governor, or other officer, who may have committed an act of injustice or tyranny in any of the Dutch establishments in Bengale, or at Patna, Sourate, or Ahmed-abad.

I shall finish this letter with a description of the two wonderful mansoleums which constitute the chief superiority of Agra over Delki. One was creeted by Jehan-Gagre in honour of his father Ekbar; and Chah-Jehan raised the other to the memory of his wife Tage Mehale, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty, of whom her husband was so enamoured that it is said he was constant to her during life, and at her death was so affected as nearly to follow her to the grave.

I shall pass Ekhar's monument without further observation, because all its beauties are found in still greater perfection in that of Tage Mehale, which I shall now endeavour to describe.

On leaving Agra, toward the east, you enter a long, wide, or paved street, on a gentle ascent, having on one side a high and long wall, which forms the side of a square garden, of much greater extent than our Place Royale, and on the other side a row of new houses with arcades, resembling those of the principal streets in Dehli, which I have already described. After walking half the length of the wall, you find on the right, that is, on the side of the houses, a large gate, tolerably well made, which is the entrance of a Karran-Serrah, and on the opposite side from

Akbur's tomb at Secundin near Agra was commenced by himself, and it is believed by competent judges that he borrowed the design from a Buddhist model. It was finished by his son Jábángir, and le quite unlike any other tomb built in India nither before or since.

that of the wall is seen the magnificent gate of a spacious and square pavilion, forming the entrance into the garden, between two reservoirs, faced with hewn stone.

This pavilion is an oblong square, and built of a stone resembling red marble, but not so hard. The front seems to me longer, and much more grand in its construction, than that of S. Louis, in the rue S. Antoine, and it is equally lofty. The columns, the architraves and the cornices are, indeed, not formed according to the proportion of the five orders of architecture so strictly observed in French edifices. The building I am speaking of is of a different and peculiar kind; but not without something pleasing in its whimsical structure; and in my opinion it well deserves a place in our books of architecture. It consists almost wholly of arches upon arches, and galleries upon galleries, disposed and contrived in an hundred different ways. Nevertheless the edifice has a magnificent appearance, and is conceived and executed effectually. Nothing offends the eye; on the contrary, it is delighted with every part, and never tired with looking.1 The last time I visited Tage Mehale's

3 "No building in India has been so often drawn and photographed as this, or more frequently described; but with all this it is almost impossible to convey an idea of it to those who have not seen it, not only because of its extreme delicacy and beauty of material employed in its construction, but from the complexity of its design. If the Taj were only the tomb itself, it might be described, but the platform on which it stands, with its tall minarcts, is a work of art in itself. Beyond this are the two wings, one of which is a mosque, which anywhere else would be considered an important building. This group of buildings forms one side of a garden court 880 feet square, and beyond this again an outer court of the same width but only half the elepth. This is entered by three galeways of its own, and contains in the centre of its inner wall the great gateway of the garden court, a worthy pendant to the Taj itself. Beautiful as it is in itself, the Tay would lose half its charm if it stood alone. It is the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subordinate to the other, that makes up a whole which the world cannot match, and which never fails to impress even those who are most indifferent to the effects produced by architectural objects in general. - Fergusson, History of Indian Architecture, and ed. (1910), il. 313.

mansoleum I was in the company of a French merchant, who, as well as myself, thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in the Indies; and as my companion was come recently from France, it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic.

When you have entered a little way into the pavilion approaching toward the garden, you find yourself under a lofty enpola, surrounded above with galleries, and having two divans or platforms below, one on the right, the other on the left, both of them raised eight or ten French feet from the ground. Opposite to the entrance from the street is a large open arch, by which you enter a walk which divides nearly the whole of the garden into two equal parts.

This walk or terrace is wide enough to admit six coaches abreast; it is paved with large and hard square stones, raised about eight French feet above the garden; and divided the whole length by a canal faced with hewn stone and ornamented with fountains placed at certain intervals.

After advancing twenty-five or thirty paces on this terrace, it is worth while to turn round and view the back elevation of the pavilion, which, though not comparable to the front, is still very splendid, being lofty and of a similar style of architecture. On both sides of the pavilion, along the garden wall, is a long and wide gallery, raised like a terrace, and supported by a number of low columns placed near each other. Into this gallery the poor are admitted three times a week during the rainy season to receive the alms founded in perpetuity by Chah-Jehan.

Resuming the walk along the main terrace, you see before you at a distance a large dome, in which is the sepalchre, and to the right and left of that dome on a

¹ Probably Tavernier.

lower surface you observe several garden walks covered with trees and many parterres full of flowers.

When at the end of the principal walk or terrace, besides the dome that faces you, are discovered two large



Fat. 11.—The Empress Tal Mahal.

pavilions, one to the right, another to the left, both built with the same kind of stone, consequently of the same red colour as the first pavilion. These are spacious square edifices, the parts of which are raised over each other in the form of balconics and terraces; three arches leave

openings which have the garden wall for a boundary, and you walk under these pavilions as if they were lofty and wide galleries. I shall not stop to speak of the interior ornaments of the two pavilions, because they scarcely differ in regard to the walls, ceiling, or pavement from the dome which I am going to describe. Between the end of the principal walk and this dome is an open and pretty large space, which I call a water-parterre, because the stones on which you walk, 1 cut and figured in various forms, represent the borders of box in our parterres. From the middle of this space you have a good view of the building which contains the tomb, and which we are now to examine.

This building is a vast dome of white marble nearly of the same height as the Val De Grace² of Paris, and encircled by a number of turrets, also of white marble, descending the one below the other in regular succession.

1 They are of black and white marble in alternate rows, supposed

to resemble rippling water.

² Above the façade of the church of the deaf and dumb asylum of Val-de-Grâce, designed by Fr. Mansart, and built in 1645-66, rises the famous dome, which is a reduced copy of that of St. Peter's at Rome, 133 feet high and 53 feet in diameter. The principal dome of the Taj is 74 feet high and 58 feet in diameter, and very much more gracefully proportioned, and with infinitely finer lines than the Val-de-Grâce dome, which can easily be verified by a comparison of photographs of the two structures. Tavernier (Travels, vol. i. p. 110, 111) was of the opinion that the dome of the Taj is scarcely less magnificent than that of the Val-de-Grâce, and adds that he witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of the building of the Taj, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly; this is sufficient to enable one to realise that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because, from want of wood, they had all to be made of brick, as well as the supports of the arches; this has entailed much labour and a heavy expenditure. Shah Jahan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war which he had with his sons interrupted his plans, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it.

The whole fabric is supported by four great arches, three of which are quite open and the other closed up by the wall of an apartment with a gallery attached to it. There the Koran is continually read with apparent devotion in respectful memory of Tage Mehale by certain Mullahs kept in the mausoleum for that purpose. The centre of every arch is adorned with white murble slabs whereon are inscribed large Arabian characters in black marble, which produce a fine effect. The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to bottom are faced with white marble: no part can be found that is not skilfully wrought, or that has not its peculiar beauty. Everywhere are seen the jasper, and jachen,2 or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's chapel at Florence, and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and enchased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable.

Under the dome is a small chamber, wherein is enclosed the tomb of Tage Mchale. It is opened with much ceremony once in a year, and once only; and as no Christian is admitted within, lest its sanetity should be profaned, I have not seen the interior, but I understand that nothing can be conceived more rich and magnificent.

It only remains to draw your attention to a walk or terrace, nearly five-and-twenty paces in breadth and rather more in height, which runs from the dome to the extremity of the garden. From this terrace are seen the Genna flowing below, a large expanse of luxuriant gardens, a part of the city of Agra, the fortress, and all the fine residences of the Omraha creeted on the banks of the river. When I add that this terrace extends almost the whole length of one side of the garden, I leave you to

b Farder is the Persian name for this mineral.

judge whether I had not sufficient ground for asserting that the mausoleum of Tage Mehale is an astonishing work. It is possible I may have imbibed an Indian taste; but I decidedly think that this monument deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of Egypt, those unshapen masses which when I had seen them twice yielded me no satisfaction, and which are nothing on the outside but heaps of large stones piled in the form of steps one upon another, while within there is very little that is creditable either to human skill or to human invention.





LETTER

TO MONSIEUR

CHAPELAIN,

DESPATCHED FROM CHIRAS IN PERSIA, the 4th October 1667.

Describing the Superstitions, strange customs, and Doctrines of the Indous or Gentiles of Hindoustan;

From which it will be seen that there is no Doctrine too strange or too improbable for the Soul of man to conceive.



ONSIEUR,1

I have witnessed two solar eclipses which it is scarcely possible I should ever forget. The one I saw from France in the year 1654, the other from Dehli in the Indies in 1666. The sight of the first eclipse was impressed upon my mind by the childish credulity of the French people, and by their groundless and unreasonable alarm; an alarm so excessive that some brought drugs as

¹ Jean Chapelain (1594-1674), an excellent man but a poor poet. In 1662 he was employed by Colbert (see p. 201, footnote ¹) to draw up an account of contemporary men of letters to guide the King (Louis XIV.) in his distribution of pensions.

charms to defend themselves against the eclipse; some kept themselves closely shut up, and excluded all light either in carefully-barred apartments or in cellars; while thousands flocked to their respective churches; some apprehending and dreading a malign and dangerous influence; others believing that the last day was at hand, and that the celipse was about to shake the foundations of the world. Such were the absurd notions cutertained by our countrymen, notwithstanding the writings of Gassendi,1 Roberval,2 and other celebrated astronomers and philosophers, which clearly demonstrated that the celipse was only similar to many others which had been productive of no mischief; that this obscuration of the sun was known and predicted, and was without any other peculiarity than what might be found in the reveries of ignorant or designing astrologers.

The eclipse of 1666 is also indelibly imprinted on my memory by the ridiculous errors and strange superstitions of the Indians. At the time fixed for its appearance I took my station on the terrace of my house, situated on the banks of the Genna, when I saw both shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with Gentiles or idolaters, who stood in the water up to the waist, their eyes riveted to the skies, watching the commencement of the eclipse, in order to plunge and wash themselves at the very instant. The little boys and girls were quite naked; the men had nothing but a searf round their middle, and the married women and girls of six or seven years of age

For some account of Pietre Gamendi (1592-1655), the European Agah, ' Friendly Master,' of Bernier, see Chronicle of Events, etc.,

under date 24th October 1655, onle, p. xx.

2 Gilles Personne de Roberval (1602-1675), the great French
mathematician. Appointed to the chair of Philosophy in the Gervais
College in 1631, and afterwards to the chair of Mathematics in the
College of France; an appointment which he held until his death,
although a condition of tenure of that Protessorship was that the
holder should propose questions for solution and resign in favour of
any one who solved them better than himself.

were covered with a single cloth. Persons of rank or wealth, such as Rajas (Gentile sovereign princes, and generally courtiers in the service and pay of the King), Serrafs 1 or money-changers, bankers, jewellers, and other rich merchants, crossed from the opposite side of the river with their families, and pitching their tents fixed kanales 2 or screens in the water, within which they and their wives washed and performed the usual ceremonies without any exposure. No sooner did these idolaters perceive that the obscuration of the sun was begun than they all raised a loud cry, and plunged the whole body under water several times in quick succession; after which they stood in the river, lifted their eyes and hands toward the sun, muttered and prayed with seeming devotion, filling their hands from time to time with water, which they threw in the direction of the sun, bowing their heads very low, and moving and turning their arms and hands, sometimes one way, sometimes another. The deluded people continue to plunge, matter, pray, and perform their silly tricks until the end of the celipse. On retiring they threw pieces of silver at a great distance into the Geman, and gave alms to the Brahmens, who failed not to be present at this absurd ceremony. I remarked that every individual on coming out of the water put on new clothes placed on the sand for that purpose, and that several of the most devout left their old garments as presents for the Brahmens.

In this manner did I observe from the roof of my house the solemnisation of the grand celipse-festival, a festival which was kept with the same external observances in the Indus, in the Ganges, and in the other rivers and Talahs (or tanks of the Indice), but above all in that one at Tamiser,3 which contained on that occasion more than one

The side walls of a tent.

¹ The Arabic word sarrdf, now modernised into shroff.

The sacred tank at Thaneswar, in the Karnal District, situated on the line of the old Mogul road to Labore, -a very ancient place of Hindoo pilgrimage, being considered the centre of the 'Holy Land'

hundred and fifty thousand persons, assembled from all parts of the empire; its waters being considered on the day of an eclipse more holy and meritorious than those of

any other.

The Great Mogol, though a Mahametan, permits these ancient and superstitious practices; not wishing, or not daring, to disturb the Gentiles in the free exercises of their religion. But the ceremony I have described is not performed until a certain number of Brahmens, as deputies from their fellows, have presented the King with a lecque of roupies, equal to about fifty thousand crowns; in return for which he begs their acceptance only of a few vests and an old elephant.

I shall now mention the wise and convincing reasons assigned for the festival of the eclipse, and for the rites

with which it is attended.

We have, say they, our four Beths; that is, our four books of law, sacred and divine writings given unto us by God himself, through the medium of Brahma. These books teach that a certain Deūla, an incarnate divinity, extremely malignant and mischievous, very dark, very black, very impure, and very filthy (these are all their own expressions) takes possession of the Sun, which it blackens to the colour of ink, infects and obscures; that the Sun, which is also a Deūla, but of the most beneficent and perfect kind, is thrown into a state of the greatest uncasiness, and suffers a most cruel agony while in the power of and infected by this wicked and black being; that an endeavour to rescue the Sun from so miserable a con-

of Kurukshetra. During eclipses of the moon, the waters of all other tanks are believed to visit this tank, so that he who lathes in the assembled water obtains the concentrated merit of all possible ablutions. Thaneswar, which is now gradually falling into ruin, is one of the oldest and most famous towns in India connected with the legends of the Mishabharan and the exploits of the Pandavas.

A corruption of Fairs, Divine knowledge.

² Dectal, a corruption of Devato, 'Celestials,' most frequently the whole body of inferior gods.

dition becomes the duty of every person; that this important object can be attained only by means of prayers, ablutions, and alms; that those actions have an extraordinary merit during the festival of the eclipse, the alms then bestowed being a hundred times more valuable than alms given at any other time; and who is he, they ask, that would refuse to make a profit of cent per cent?

These, Monsieur, were the eclipses which I told you I could not easily forget, and they naturally lead me to speak of other wild extravagancies of the unhappy heathens, from which I shall leave you to draw whatever conclusions

you please.

In the town of Jagannat,1 situated on the Gulf of Bengale, and containing the famous temple of the idol of that name, a certain annual festival is held, which continues, if my memory fail not, for the space of eight or nine days. At this festival is collected an incredible concourse of people, as was the case anciently at the temple of Hammon, and as happens at present in the city of Meca. The number, I am told, sometimes exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. A superb wooden machine is constructed, such as I have seen in several other parts of the Indies, with I know not how many grotesque figures, nearly resembling our monsters which we see depicted with two heads, being half man and half beast, gigantic and horrible heads, satyrs, apes, and devils. This machine is set on fourteen or sixteen wheels like those of a gon-carriage, and drawn or pushed along by the united exertions of fifty or sixty persons. The idol, Jagannat, placed conspicuously in the middle, richly attired, and gorgeously adorned, is thus conveyed from one temple to another.

The first day on which this idol is formally exhibited in the temple, the crowd is so immense, and the press so violent, that some of the pilgrims, fatigned and worn out in consequence of their long journey, are squeezed to

I In modern colloquial Juggermant (a corruption of Jagannalth, one of the forms of Krishaa), near the town of Puri in Orism.

death: the surrounding throng give them a thousand benedictions, and consider them highly favoured to die on such a holy occasion after travelling so great a distance. And while the chariot of hellish triumph pursues its solemn march, persons are found (it is no fiction which I recount) so blindly credalous and so full of wild notions as to throw themselves upon the ground in the way of its ponderous wheels, which pass over and crush to atoms the bodies of the wretched fanatics without exciting the horror or surprise of the spectators. No deed, according to their estimation, is so heroic or meritorious as this self-devotion: the victims believe that Jeganned will receive them as children, and recall them to life in a state of happiness and dignity.

The Brahmens encourage and promote these gross errors and superstitions to which they are indebted for their wealth and consequence. As persons attached and consecrated to important mysteries, they are held in general veneration, and enriched by the alms of the people. wicked and detestable are their tricks and impostures that I required the full and clear evidence of them-which I obtained-ere I could believe that they had recourse to similar expedients. These knaves select a beautiful maiden to become (as they say, and as they induce these silly, ignorant people to believe) the bride of Jagannal, who accompanies the god to the temple with all the pomp and ceremony which I have noticed, where she remains the whole night, having been made to believe that Jagannat will come and lie with her. She is commanded to inquire of the god if the year will be fruitful, and what may be the processions, the festivals, the prayers, and the alms which he requires in return for his bounty. In the night one of these impostors enters the temple through a small back door, enjoys the unsuspecting damsel, makes her believe whatever may be deemed necessary, and the following morning when on her way to another temple, whither she is carried in that Triumphal Chariot, by the side of Jaganmat her Sponse, she is desired by the Brahmens to state aloud

to the people all she has heard from the justful priest, as if every word had proceeded from the mouth of Jagannat. But let me relate follies of another kind.

In front of the chariot, and even in the Deiras or Idol Temples, public women during festival days dance and throw their bodies into a variety of indecent and preposterous attitudes, which the Brahmens deem quite consistent with the religion of the country. I have known females celebrated for beauty, and who were remarkably reserved in their general deportment, refuse valuable presents from Mahometons, Christians, and even Gentile foreigners, because they considered themselves dedicated to the ministry and to the ministers of the Deiira, to the Brahmens, and to those Fakires who are commonly seated on ashes all round the temple, some quite naked with bideous hair, like, we may suppose, to that of Megara, and in postures which I shall soon describe.

What has been said concerning women burning themselves will be confirmed by so many travellers that I suppose people will cease to be sceptical upon this melancholy fact, The accounts given of it have been certainly exaggerated, and the number of victims is less now than formerly; the Mahometans, by whom the country is governed, doing all in their power to suppress the barbarous custom. They do not, indeed, forbid it by a positive law, because it is a part of their policy to leave the ide arrows population, which is so much more numerous than their own, in the free exercise of its religion; but the practice is checked by indirect means. No woman can sacrifice herself without permission from the governor of the province in which she resides, and he never grants it until he shall have ascertained that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose: to accomplish this desirable end the governor reasons with the widow and makes her enticing promises; after which, if these methods fail, he sometimes sends her

¹ Hindostance for a temple, a corruption of the Sanskrit, Lievala, a temple.

among his women, that the effect of their remoustrances may be tried. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the number of self-immolations is still very considerable, particularly in the territories of the Rajna, where no Mahometan governors are appointed. But not to tire you with the history of every woman whom I have seen perish on the functal pile, I shall advert to only two or three of those shocking spectacles at which I have been present; and first I shall give you some details concerning a female to whom I was sent for the purpose of diverting her from persevering in her dreadful intention.

One of my friends, named Boudidas, 1 Daneehmend-kun's principal writer, died of a heetic fever for which I had attended him upwards of two years, and his wife immediately resolved to burn herself with the body of her husband. Her friends were in the service of my Agab, and being commanded by him to dissuade the widow from the commission of so frantic an act, they represented to her that although she had adopted a generous and commendable resolution, which would redound to the honour and conduce to the happiness of the family, yet she ought to consider that her children were of a tender age, that it would be cruel to ahandon them, and that her anxiety for their welfare ought to exceed the affection she bore to the memory of her deceased husband. The infatuated creature attended not, how were to their reasoning, and I was requested to visit the widow as if by my Agab's desire, and in the capacity of in old friend of the family. I complied, and found on entering the apartment a regular witches' Sabat of seven or eight old lags, and another of four or five excited, wild, and aged Realment standing round the body, all of whom gave by turns a horrid yell, and beat their hands with violence. The widow was seated at the feet of her dead husband; her hair was dishevelled and her visage pale,

¹ The Muhamadanised form of Benidas, a common name among Himloo 'writers' or clerks, who were largely employed, some of these in positions of considerable responsibility, by the Moguls.

but her eyes were tearless and sparkling with animation while she cried and screamed aloud like the rest of the company, and beat time with her hands to this horrible concert. The hurly-burly having subsided, I approached the hellish group, and addressed the woman in a gentle tone. 'I am come hither,' said I, 'by desire of Danechmend-kan, to inform you that he will settle a pension of two crowns per month on each of your two sons, provided you do not destroy your life, a life so necessary for their care and education. We have ways and means indeed to prevent your ascending the pile, and to punish those who encourage you in so unreasonable a resolution. All your relations wish you to live for the sake of your offspring, and you will not be reputed infamous as are the childless widows who possess not courage to burn themselves with their dead husbands.' I repeated these arguments several times without receiving any answer; but, at last, fixing a determined look on me, she said, 'Well, if I am prevented from burning myself, I will dash out my brains against a wall.' What a diabolical spirit has taken possession of you, thought I. 'Let it be so then,' I rejoined, with undissembled anger, but first take your children, wretched and unnatural mother! cut their throats, and consume them on the same pile; otherwise you will leave them to die of famine, for I shall return immediately to Danechmend-kan and annul their pensions.' These words, spoken with a loud and resolute voice, made the desired impression: without uttering a syllable, her head fell suddenly on her knees, and the greater part of the old women and Brahmens sneaked toward the door and left the room. I thought I might now safely leave the widow in the hands of her friends, who had accompanied me, and mounting my horse returned home. In the evening, when on my way to Danechmend-kan to inform him of what I had done, I met one of the relations who thanked me, and said that the body had been burnt without the widow, who had promised not to die by her own hands.

In regard to the women who actually burn themselves, I was present at so many of those shocking exhibitions that I could not persuade myself to attend any more, nor is it without a feeling of horror that I revert to the subject. I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to describe what passed before my eyes; but I cannot hope to give you an adequate conception of the fortitude displayed by these infatnated victims during the whole of the frightful tragedy; it must be seen to be believed.

When travelling from Ahmed-ahad to Agra, through the territories of Rajas, and while the caravan halted under the shade of a hanyan-tree! until the cool of the evening, news reached us that a widow was then on the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I ran at once to the spot, and going to the edge of a large and nearly dry reservoir, observed at the bottom a deep pit filled with wood: the body of a dead man extended thereon; a woman scated upon the same pile; four or five Brahmeux setting fire to it in every part; five middle-aged women, folerably well dressed, holding one another by the hand, singing and dancing round the pit; and a great number of spectators of both sexes.

The pile, whereon large quantities of butter² and oil had been thrown, was soon enveloped in flames, and I saw the fire eatch the woman's garments, which were impregnated with scented oil, mixed with sandalwood powder and saffron; but I could not perceive the slightest indication

^{5 &#}x27;Bourgade' in the original, which I have ventured to take in this passage as intended for Eurgat, the common name in Hindostan for a 'banyan'-tree, the Fient India, L. A caravan would not hak even in a village (Scorgade), especially when in a foreign territory; in the words of a previous translator, 'while the caravan halted in a translator, while the caravan halted in a translator, and the shade in a translator, in the caravan halted in a translator, in the standard the shade.' A famous hanyan-tree near the town of Hardot in Could be, or tather was, so extended (natural decay has, I believe, almost entirely destroyed it) that 'the said that in 15,8 two regiments of soldiers encamped under the shade of its branches. In various other parts of India other large 'banyan'-trees may be seet with, quite capable of sheltering an ordinary caravan or camp.

'Ghee, which is clarified butter; see p. 438, footnote '.

of pain or even uneasiness in the victim, and it was said that she pronounced with emphasis the words five, two, to signify that this being the fifth time she had burned herself with the same husband, there were wanted only two more similar sacrifices to render her perfect, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls: as if a certain reminiscence, or prophetic spirit, had been imparted to her at that moment of her dissolution.

But this was only the commencement of the infernal tragedy. I thought that the singing and dancing of the five women were nothing more than some unmeaning ceremony; great therefore was my astonishment when I saw that the flames having ignited the clothes of one of these females, she cast herself head-foremost into the pit. The horrid example was followed by another woman, as soon as the flames caught her person: the three women who remained then took hold of each other by the hand, resuming the dance with perfect composure; and after a short lapse of time, they also precipitated themselves, one after the other, into the fire.

I soon learnt the meaning of these multiplied sacrifices. The five women were slaves, and having witnessed the deep affliction of their mistress in consequence of the illness of her husband, whom she promised not to survive, they were so moved with compassion that they entered into an engagement to perish by the same flames that consumed their beloved mistress.

Many persons whom I then consulted on the subject would fain have persuaded me that an excess of affection was the cause why these women burn themselves with their deceased husbands; but I soon found that this abominable practice is the effect of early and deeply rooted prejudices. Every girl is taught by her mother that it is virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband, and that no woman of honour will refuse compliance with the established custom. These opinions men have always inculeated as an easy mode of

keeping wives in subjection, of securing their attention in times of sickness, and of deterring them from administering poison to their husbands.

But let us proceed to another of these dreadful scenes, not witnessed indeed by myself, but selected in preference to others at which I happened to be present on account of the remarkable incident by which I should have pronounced meredible, that neither you nor I ought to reject the narrative in question merely because it contains something extraordinary. The story is in every person's mouth in the Indies, and is universally credited. Perhaps it has already reached you in Europe.

A woman, long engaged in love intrigues with a young Mahametan, her neighbour, by trade a tailor, and a player on the tambourine, poisoned her husband, hoping that the young man would marry her. She then hastened to her lover, informed him of what she had done, and claiming the performance of his promise to take her to wife, urged the necessity of immediately flying, as had been previously projected, from the scene of their guilt : 'for,' added she, 'if there be the least delay, I shall be constrained by a common sense of decency to burn myself with the body of my dead spouse.' The young man, who foresaw that such a scheme would involve him in difficulty and danger, percuptorily refused, and the woman, without betraying the smallest emotion, went at the instant to her relations, informed them of the sudden death of ber husband, and of her fixed resolution to die on the funeral pile. Pleased with so magnanimous an intention, and with the honour she was about to confer on the family, her friends prepare a pit, fill it with wood, lay the body upon the pile, and kindle the fire. These arrangements being completed, the woman makes the round of the pit for the purpose of embracing and bidding a last farewell to her

i Probably a khampurer; a small tambourine played upon with the fingers.

kindred, among whom stood the young tailor, invited thither with other musicians to play on the tambourine according to the custom of the country. Approaching the lover as if she intended to take a last and tender adieu, the infuriated creature seized him with a firm grasp by the collar, drew him with irresistible force to the edge of the pit, and precipitated herself headlong, with the object of her resentment, into the midst of the raging fire.

As I was leaving Sourate for Persia, I witnessed the devotion and burning of another widow: several Englishmen and Dutchmen and Monsieur Chardin 1 of Paris were present. She was of the middle age, and by no means amcomely. I do not expect, with my limited powers of expression, to convey a full idea of the brutish boldness, or feroclous galety depicted on this woman's countenance; of her undaunted step; of the freedom from all perturbation with which she conversed, and permitted herself to be washed; of the look of confidence, or rather of insensibility which she east upon us; of her easy air, free from dejection; of her lofty carriage, void of embarrassment, when she was examining her little cabin, composed of dry and thick millet straw, with an intermixture of small wood; when she entered into that cabin, sat down upon the funeral pile, placed her deceased husband's head in her

² Sir (then simply Monsieur) John Chardin, the celebrated traveller, was born at Paris in 1643, and died in London in 1713, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his monument bears the very appropriate inscription, Nomen vibi fecit canale. His first journey was to Persia and India in 1665, and while there he received the patronage (his business was that of a jeweller) of Shah Abbas 11. He returned to Paris in 1670, and in 1671 he again set out for Persia and India, and in 1677 he returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. A Protestation, the persecution going on in France led him to settle in London in 1681, where he was appointed Court Jeweller and knighted by Charles 11. Chardin was in Surat in 1667 and in 1677, and it must have been in 1667 that Bernier met him there; as we know from the date of this letter to Monsieur Chapelain (see p. 300) that Bernier was in Shirix in October 1667, after his return from India, vid Surat, and, most probably, Bandar Abbassi.

lap, took up a torch, and with her own hand lighted the fire within, while I know not how many Brahmens were busily engaged in kindling it without. Well indeed may I despair of representing this whole scene with proper and genuine feeling, such as I experienced at the spectacle itself, or of painting it in colours sufficiently vivid. My recollection of it indeed is so distinct that it seems only a few days since the horrid reality passed before my eyes, and with pain I persuade myself that it was anything but a frightful dream.

It is true, however, that I have known some of these unhappy widows shrink at the sight of the piled wood; so as to leave no doubt on my mind that they would willingly have recanted, if recantation had been permitted by the merciless Brahmens; but those demons excite or astound the affrighted victims, and even thrust them into the fire. I was present when a poor young woman, who had fallen back five or six paces from the pit, was thus driven forward; and I saw another of these wretched beings struggling to leave the funeral pile when the fire increased around her person, but she was prevented from escaping by the long poles of the diabolical executioners.

But sometimes the devoted widows elude the vigilance of the murderous priests. I have been often in the company of a fair *Idolater*, who contrived to save her life by throwing herself upon the protection of the scavengers, who assemble on these occasions in considerable numbers, when they learn that the intended victim is young and handsome, that her relations are of little note, and that she is to be accompanied by only a few of her acquaintance. Yet the woman whose courage fails at the sight of the horrid apparatus of death, and who avails herself of the presence of these men to avoid the impending sacrifice, cannot hope to pass her days in happiness, or to be treated with respect or affection. Never again can she live with

¹ Sweepers, haldl-khors, who frequent burning ghâts (places for cremation) for various purposes at the present day.

the Gentiles: no individual of that nation will at any time, or under any circumstances, associate with a creature so degraded, who is accounted utterly infamous, and execrated because of the dishonour which her conduct has brought upon the religion of the country. Consequently she is ever afterwards exposed to the ill-treatment of her low and vulgar protectors. There is no Mogol who does not dread the consequences of contributing to the preservation of a woman devoted to the burning pile, or who will venture to afford an asylum to one who escapes from the fangs of the Brahmens; but many widows have been rescued by the Portuguese, in sea-ports where that people happened to be in superior strength. I need scarcely say how much my own indignation has been excited, and how ardently I have wished for opportunities to exterminate those cursed Brahmens.

At Lahor I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than twelve years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit: the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the Brahmens, assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet, lest she should run away, and in that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings and to prevent their bursting forth into clamorous and unavailing rage; but restrained by prudential considerations, I contented myself with silently lamenting the abominable superstition of these people, and applied to it the language of the poet, when speaking of Iphigenia, whom her father Agamemnon had offered in sacrifice to Diana :-

> . . . quod contra saepius illa religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta. Aulide quo pacta Triviai virginis aram Iphianassai turparunt sanguine foede

ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum. tantum religio potuit sundere malorum.

I have not yet mentioned all the barbarity and atrocity of these monsters. In some parts of the *Indies*, instead of barning the women who determine not to survive their hasbands, the *Brahmens* bury them alive, by slow degrees, up to the throat; then two or three of them fall suddenly upon the victim, wring her neck, and when she has been effectually and completely choked, cover over the body with earth thrown upon it from successive baskets, and tread upon the head.

Most of the Gentiles burn their dead; but some partially broil the bodies with stubble, near the side of a river, and then precipitate them into the water from a high and steep bank. I have attended these funeral rites on the Ganges several times, and observed flights of crows fluttering about the carcass, which becomes as much the prey

of those birds as of the fish and crocodiles.

Some again carry a sick person, when at the point of death, to the river-side; place his feet in the water, let him sink gradually to the neck; and when it is supposed that he is about to expire, they immerse his whole body into the river, where they leave him, after violently clapping their hands, and crying out with great vehemence. The object of this ceremony (at which I have been present) is that the soul may be washed, on taking its flight, from

This is done by those too poor to afford the cost of an ordinary

This quotation (from Learerius, De Nerton Nature, Book 1, 32-6, 103) has been thus residered by H. A. J. Munto :— Whereas on the contrary, often and often, that very religion has given birth to sinful and unboly deeds. Thus in Aulis the chosen chieftains of the Danai, foremost of men, foully polluted with Iphianasas's blood the latur of the Trivian maid. . . . So great the evils to which religion could prompt! I have substituted the latest critical version, for the one given by Bernier, which he took from a Detch edition of Learerius.

all impurities which it may have contracted during its abode in the body. This absurd notion is not confined to the vulgar; I have heard it seriously defended by men of the highest reputation for learning.

Among the vast number, and endless variety of Fakires. or Dereiches, and Holy Men, or Gentile hypocrites 1 of the Indies, many live in a sort of convent, governed by superiors, where vows of chastity, poverty, and submission are made. So strange is the life led by these votaries that I doubt whether my description of it will be credited. I allude particularly to the people called Jauguis, a name which signifies 'united to God.' Numbers are seen, day and night, seated or lying on ashes, entirely naked; frequently under the large trees near talahs, or tanks of water, or in the galleries round the Deuros, or idol temples. Some have hair hanging down to the calf of the leg, twisted and entangled into knots, like the coat of our shargy dogs, or rather like the hair of those afflicted with that Polish disease, which we call to Plie." I have seen several who hold one, and some who hold both arms, perpetually lifted up above the head; the nails of their hands being twisted, and longer than half my little finger, with which I measured them. Their arms are as small and thin as the arms of persons who die in a decline, because in so forced and unnatural a position they receive not sufficient nourishment; nor can they be lowered so as to supply the mouth with food, the museles having become contracted, and the articulations dry and stiff. Novices wait upon these fanatics, and pay them the utmost respect, as persons endowed with extraordinary sanctity. No Fury in the infernal regions can be conceived more

In the original, 'on Santons Gentils des Indes.' Santon originally meant a peculiar sect of Moslem devotee, but I have translated the word as meaning a hypocrite, in which sense it is used by Rabelals.

² Jogi, a corruption of Figss, union or junction. Applied to those followers of the Yoga doctrine who are supposed to go about preaching the duty and necessity of religious retirement and meditation.

The disease known as Plice Polonna.

horrible than the Jauguis, with their naked and black skin, long bair, spindle arms, long twisted nails, and fixed in the

posture which I have mentioned.

I have often met, generally in the territory of some Raja, bands of these naked Fakires, hideous to behold. Some had their arms lifted up in the manner just described; the frightful hair of others either hung loosely or was tied and twisted round their heads; some carried a club like to Hercules; others had a dry and rough tiger skin thrown over their shoulders. In this trim I have seen them shamelessly walk, stark naked, through a large town, men, women, and girls looking at them without any more emotion than may be created when a hermit passes through our streets. Females would often bring them alms with much devotion, doubtless believing that they were holy personages, more chaste and discreet than other men.

I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated Fakire, named Sarmet, who paraded the streets of Dekli as naked as when he came into the world. He despised equally the promises and the threats of Aureng-Zebe, and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation from his

obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel.

Several of these Fakires undertake long pilgrimages, not only naked, but laden with heavy iron chains, such as are put about the legs of elephants. I have seen others who in consequence of a particular vow stood upright, during seven or eight days, without once sitting or lying down, and without any other support than might be afforded by leaning forward against a cord for a few hours in the night; their legs in the meantime were swellen to the size of their thighs. Others again I have observed standing steadily, whole hours together, upon their hands, the head down, and the feet in the air. I might proceed to enumerate various other positions in which these unhappy men place their body, many of them so difficult and painful that they could not be imitated by our tumblers; and all this, let it be recollected, is performed from an

assumed feeling of piety, of which there is not so much as the shadow in any part of the Indies.

I confess that this gross superstition filled me, on my first arrival in Hindonstan, with amazement. I knew not what to think of it. Sometimes I should have been disposed to consider the Fakires as remnants, if not as the founders, of the ancient and infamous sect of Cynics, could I have discovered anything in them but brutality and ignorance, and if they had not appeared to me vegetative rather than rational beings. At another time, I thought they might be honest though deluded enthusiasts, until I found that, in fact they were, in the widest sense of the word, destitute of plety. Again, I reflected that a life of vagrancy, idleness, and independence may have a powerful and attractive charm; or that the vanity which intermingles itself with every motive of human action, and which may be discovered as clearly through the tattered mantle of a Diogeses as under the comely garb of a Plato, was probably the secret spring that set so many strange engines in motion.

The Fakires, it is said, exercise painful austerities in the confident hope that they will be Rajus in their renascent state; or, if they do not become Rajas, that they shall be placed in a condition of life capable of more exquisite enjoyment than is experienced by those sovereign princes: but, as I have frequently observed to them, how can it be believed that men submit to a life of so much misery for the sake of a second state of existence, as short and uncertain as the first, and which cannot be expected to yield a much greater degree of happiness even to him who may be invested with the high dignity of Rana, or who may resemble Jesseingne or Jessonveingne, the two most powerful Rajas of the Indier? I am not to be so easily deceived, said I to them; either you are egregious fools, or you are actuated by some siniater views which you carefully hide from the world.

Some of the Fakires enjoy the reputation of being

peculiarly enlightened saints, perfect Jauguis, and really united to God. These are supposed to have entirely renounced the world, and like our hermits they live a secluded life in a remote gurden, without ever visiting a town. When food is brought to them, they receive it: if none be offered to them it is concluded that the holy men can live without food, that they subsist by the favour of God, vouchsafed on account of previous long fasts and other religious mortifications. Frequently these pious Janguis are absorbed in profound meditation. It is pretended, and one of the favoured saints hunself assured me, that their souls are often rapt in an eestasy of several hours' duration; that their external senses lose their functions; that the Jauguis are blessed with a sight of God, who appears as a light ineffably white and vivid, and that they experience transports of holy joy, and a contempt of temporal concerns which defy every power of description. My saintly informant added that he could at pleasure fall into such a trance as he described, and not one of the individuals who are in the habit of visiting the Jauguis doubts the reality of these vaunted cestasies. It is possible that the imagination, distempered by continued fasts and uninterrupted solitude, may be brought into these illusions, or that the rapturous dreams of the Fakires may resemble the natural cestasies into which Cardan tells us he could fall whenever he pleased, especially as the Fairer practise some art in what they do, prescribing to themselves certain rules for the binding up of their senses by slow degrees. For example, they say that after having fasted several days upon bread and water, it is necessary to be alone in a sequestered spot, to fix the eyes most steadily toward heaven, and when they have been so riveted for some

¹ Girolamo Cardan, teen at Pevis in 1501, died 1576, was famous as a mathematician, physician, and asymboger. He published he celebrated treatise on astrology in 1543, and in 1532 visited Scotland, as the medical adviser of Archbeshop Hamilton of St. Andrews. Cardan, owing to the boldness of many of the theories which be enunciated, was involved in many disputes with his contemporaries.

time, to lower them gradually, and then point them both in such a manner that they shall look at one and the same time upon the tip of the nose, both sides of that feature being equally seen; and in this posture the saint must continue firm, the two sides of the nose in even proportions remaining constantly within sight until the bright luminary makes its appearance.

The trance, and the means of enjoying it, form the grand Mysticism of the sect of the Janguis, 1 as well as that of the Soufys. I call it Mysticism [Mystere], because they keep these things secret among themselves, and I should not have made so many discoveries had it not been for the aid of the Pendel, or Indou Doctor whom Danechmend-kan kept in his pay, and who dared not conceal anything from his patron; my Agah, moreover, was already acquainted with the doctrines of the Soufys. 2

I believe that extreme poverty, long fasts, and perpetual austerities count for something in the condition at which these men arrive. Our *Friars* and *Hermits* must not suppose that on these points they surpass the *Jauguis* or other *Asiatic* religionists. I can, for instances, appeal to

¹ In the original, 'le grand Mystere de la Cabale des Jauguis.'

² It would be difficult to give any better definition of Sufism than that by Mr. E. H. Whinfield, M.A., late B.C.S., in the Introduction (pp. 15, 16) to his edition of the Masnavi-i Ma'navi, the Spiritual couplets, of Mulana Jalalu-'d-din Muhammad-i Rumi, London, Trübner, 1887. After explaining that the message of Muhammad, as revealed in the Koran, was eminently practical and not speculative, popular in language, and not meant to bear the strain of analysis, Mr. Whinfield relates how, after the death of Muhammad, the Faithful did philosophise, notwithstanding all the injunctions extant against such speculation as was then indulged in. Schoolmen arose who carried philosophy into divinity, and, in the light of the new learning, derived from Plato, Aristotle, and the speculations of the Christian sects, debated all the trite topics of Moslem theology. 'Parallel to this stream of scholasticism there ran another stream of mystical theosophy-derived in part from Plato, "the Attic Moses," but mainly from Christianity, as presented in the "spiritual Gospel" of St. John, and as expounded by the Christian Platonists and Gnostics. This second stream was Sufism.'

the lives and fasts of the Armenians, Copts, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobius, and Maronites; compared to these people our European devotees are mere novices, though it must be confessed, from what I have myself experienced, that the pains of hunger are not so sensibly felt in the Indies as in our colder climates.

I have now to give an account of certain Fakires totally different from the Saints just described, but who also are extraordinary personages. They almost continually perambulate the country, make light of everything, affect to live without care, and to be possessed of most important secrets. The people imagine that these favoured beings are well acquainted with the art of making gold, and that they can prepare mercury in so admirable a manner that a grain or two swallowed every morning must restore a diseased body to vigorous health, and so strengthen the stomach that it may feed with avidity, and digest with case. This is not all; when two of these good Jauguis meet, and can be excited to a spirit of emulation, they make such a display of the power of Janguisism, that it may well be doubted if Simon Magus, with all his sorceries, ever performed more surprising feats. They tell any person his thoughts, cause the branch of a tree to blossom and to bear fruit within an hour, batch an egg in their bosom in less than fifteen minutes, producing whatever bird may be demanded, and make it fly about the room, and execute many other prodigies that need not be enumerated.

I regret that I cannot bear my testimony to the truth of all that people report of these conjurers. My Agah sent for one of these famous soothsayers, and promised to give him three hundred roupies (about an hundred and fifty crowns) if on the following day he would tell him, as he said be could do, what might then be passing in his mind, which he would previously write down in his presence to prevent any suspicion of unfair dealing on his own part. I engaged at the same time to present him

with five-and-twenty roupies if he mentioned my thoughts; but the prophet did not again approach our house. On another occasion I was also disappointed in my expectation of the company of one of these egg-hatchers, to whom I had promised twenty roupies. Notwithstanding my diligence to pry into everything, I have never been so fortunate as to witness any marvellous performance; and whenever I happened to be present when a deed was done which excited the surprise of the spectators, it was generally my misfortune to examine and to question until I ascertained that the cause lay in some cheat or sleight of hand. I recollect detecting the gross deception of a fellow who pretended to find out, by the rolling of a cup,

the person who had stolen my Agah's money.

But there are Fakires of a much more comely appearance than those whom we have been considering, and their lives and devotion seem less extravagant. They walk the streets barefooted and bareheaded, girt with a searf which hangs down to the knee, and wearing a white cloth which passes under the right arm and goes over the left shoulder in the form of a mantle, but they are without any under garment: their persons, however, are always well washed, and they appear cleanly in every respect. In general they walk two and two with a very modest demeanour, holding in one hand a small and fair threefooted earthen pot with two handles: they do not beg from shop to shop like many other Fakires, but enter freely into the houses of the Gentiles, where they meet with a hearty welcome and an hospitable reception, their presence being esteemed a blessing to the family. Heaven defend him who accuses them of any offence, although everybody knows what takes place between the sanctified visitors and the women of the house: this, however, is considered the custom of the country, and their sanctity is not the less on that account. I do not indeed attach much importance to their transactions with the females of the house: such practices we know are not confined to the Great Mogal's dominions; but what appears truly ridiculous is their impertinent comparison of themselves with our own clergy in the Indics. I have sometimes derived much amusement from their weakness and vanity: I used to address them with great ceremony, and apparently with the most profound respect, after which they immediately observed to one another: 'The Frangui knows who we are; he has resided many years in the Indics, and is well aware that we are the Padrys of the Indows.' But I dwell too long upon these heathen beggars, and shall proceed to notice the books of law and science.

Do not be surprised if, notwithstanding my ignorance of Sanscrid. (the language of the learned, and possibly that of the ancient Brahmens, as we may learn further on), I yet say something of books written in that tongue. My Agab, Danechmend-kan, partly from my solicitation and partly to gratify his own curiosity, took into his service one of the most celebrated Pendets in all the Indies, who had formerly belonged to the household of Dara, the eldest son of the King Chah-Jehan; and not only was this

³ The Portuguese word Padre was originally applied to Roman priests only. It is now the name given all over India to priests, clergymen, or ministers of all denominations, and is sometimes applied by natives to their own priests. Lat Padre Sakib, or the Lord Padre Sakib, is now the Indian name for a Christian bishop.

[&]quot; Hanscrit' in the original, see p. 329, footnote ".

Dárá Shikoh, when Governor or Viceroy of Benares, in 1656, caused a Perajan translation to be made from the Sanakrit text of the Upanishada ('the word that is not to be revealed'), which he called the Sarri-Aarár, or Secret of Secrets. This translation, which was made by a large staff of Benares Pandits, has been rendered into Latin by Anquetil-Duperron, and published by him at Paris, 1801, under the title of Oupackhat (is est, Secretum Tegendum) opus ipas in India recristionum, etc. etc. His version is criticised in an article published in the second number (January 1803) of The Hainburgh Review, which I believe to have been written by Alexander Hamilton, 'a Scotchman who had been in India; . . of excellent conversation and great knowledge of Oriental literature. He was afterwards professor of Sanserit '(in the official lists he is designated Professor of Himili Literature and History of Anal 'in the East India College at

man my constant companion during a period of three years, but he also introduced me to the society of other learned Pendets, whom he attracted to the house. When weary of explaining to my Agah the recent discoveries of Harvens and Pecquet in amatomy, and of discoursing on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which I translated to

Halleybury, 'p. 141, vol. I. Cockburn's Life of Lord Jeffrey, Edin. 1852, also see p. 256, vol. i. of Lord Brougham's Life and Times, Edin. and Lond, 1871. In this critique pleasing testimony is borne to the great abilitles of Prince Dara Shikoh, as follows :- If intolerance and fanaticism be the usual concomitants of Islamism (an assertion, we think, too generally expressed), the descendants of Tameriane, who reigned in Hindustan, furnish some remarkable exceptions to the received opinion. At the head of these illustrious personages we should, perhaps, place Dara Shecub, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Gehan. The attention which this Prince bestowed, investigating the antique dogmas of the Hindu theology, and the munificence with which he rewarded the learned Brahmans, whom he collected from all parts of the empire, furnished his brother Aurengaebe with a pretext to misrepresent his motives, and to alarm the realous Moslems with the danger of an apostate succeeding to the throne. The melancholy catastrophe which ensued; the death of the unhappy Dara, with the long and brilliant reign of the successful hypocrate, who founded his greatness on the destruction of his brothers, are detailed in the page of history. If the sceptical philosopher be disposed to exclaim with the Roman Epicurean, 'Tanta Religio potuit sundere malorum,' we must state our conviction that ambition, not fanaticism, prompted the deed; though the steps by which he mounted the throne threw the rigid veil of superatition over the subsequent conduct of Autengrebe, and gave that tone to his court."

William Harvey, born in 1578, and died in 1657. It was in 1676, the year of Shakespeare's death, that he began his course of lectures to the Royal College of Physicians in London, and formally amounced his discovery of the circulation of the blood, which has rendered his name for ever famous.

Jean Pecquet, born at Dieppe, in France, in 1622, died in 1674. He studied medicine at Montpellier, where Bermer was also a student, and it was there that he prosecuted those investigations which led to his discoveries, in connection with the conversion of the chyle into blood, which have immortalised his name.

René Descart=, born at La Haye, Tournine, in France, in 1596, and died at Stockholm in 1650.

him in Persian (for this was my principal employment for five or six years) we had generally recourse to our *Pendet*, who, in his turn, was called upon to reason in his own manner, and to communicate his fables; these he related with all imaginable gravity without ever smiling; but at length we became disgusted both with his tales and childish arguments.

The Hindows then affirm that God, whom they call Achar, the Immovable or Immutable, has sent to them four books, to which they give the name of Beths, a word signifying science, because, according to them, these books comprehend all the sciences. The first of the books is unmed Atherbabed; the second Zagerbed; the third Rekbed; and the fourth Samabed. These books enjoin that the people shall be divided, as in fact they are most effectually, into four tribes [Tribus]: first, the tribe of Brakmens. or interpreters of the law; secondly, the tribe of Quetterus. or warriors; thirdly, the tribe of Bescue, or merchants and tradesmen, commonly called Banganes; and fourthly, the tribe of Sewira, or artisans and labourers. These different tribes are not permitted to intermarry, that is to say, a Brahmen is forbidden to marry a Quettery, and the same injunction holds good in regard to the other tribes.1

Achara is well defined by Bernier, and this whole chapter is a good example of the careful manner in which he investigated such subjects. The word also means eternal beatitude, or exemption from further transmigration. His enumeration of the order of the Vedas does not correspond with that now generally sulopted as the results of modern criticism, which assigns to the Rig-veda the greatest antiquity, after which the Yajur-reda, then the Sama-veda, and places the Atharva-veda last, as the most recent of all. Bernier possessed a good knowledge of Persian, and as a rule his transliterations are excellent. In the enumeration of the theoretical divisions of Hindoo society, it is evident that he had to transliterate from the sied pack account given in Sanskrit or perhaps Hindi, by his Paralit, into Pernian, then into French. Bernier's Tribur is a much more scientific term than our word 'caste,' or 'cast' as Elphinstone prefers to have it, a word derived from the Portuguese Casta, "creed, race, or klad." The modern renderings of these four divisions are, Brahamas, Kalintt-

The Gentiles believe in a doctrine similar to that of the Pathagoreaus with regard to the transmigration of souls, and hold it illegal to kill or cat any animal; an exception being made, however, in favour of a few of the second tribe, provided the flesh caten be not that of the cow or peacock. For these two animals they feel a peculiar respect, particularly for the cow, imagining that it is by holding to a cow's tail they are to cross the river which separates this life from the next. Possibly their ancient legislators saw the shepherds of Egypt in a similar manner pass the river Nile, holding with the left hand the tail of a buffalo or ox, and carrying in the right a stick for the guidance of the animal; or this superior regard for the cow may more probably be owing to her extraordinary usefulness, as being the animal which supplies them with milk and butter 1 (a considerable part of their aliment), and which may be considered the source of husbandry, consequently the preserver of life itself. It ought likewise to be observed that owing to the great deficiency of pasture land in the Indies it is impossible to maintain large numbers of cattle; the whole therefore would soon disappear if animal food were eaten in anything like the proportion in which it is consumed in France and England, and the country would thus remain uncultivated. The heat is so intense, and the ground so parched, during eight months of the year, that the beasts of the field, ready to die of hunger, feed on every kind of filth like so many swine. It was on account of the searcity of cattle that Jehan-Guyre, at the request of the Brahmens, issued an ediet to forbid the killing of beasts of pasture for a certain number of years; and not long since they presented a similar petition

riyas, Varsyns, and Súdras. There appears to be a slip in Bernier's transliteration of the name of the second tribe or class; Khátri, a subdivision of the Varsyas, is confounded with Kahattriyas, or, in its popular form, Chatree; although as a matter of fact some authorities hold that the Khátris are included in the second division.

¹ That is, ghee.

to Aureng-Zebe, offering to him a considerable sum of money to ensure his compliance.1 They urged that the neglected and ruinous condition of many tracts of country during the last fifty or sixty years was attributable to the paucity and dearness of oxen.

Perhaps the first legislators in the Indies hoped that the interdiction of animal food would produce a beneficial effect upon the character of the people, and that they might be brought to exercise less cruelty toward one another when required by a positive precept to treat the brute creation with humanity. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls secured the kind treatment of animals, by leading to the belief that no animal can be killed or eaten without incurring the danger of killing or eating some ancestor, than which a more beinous crime cannot be committed. It may be also that the Brahmens were influenced by the consideration that in their climate the fiesh of cows or oxen is neither savoury nor wholesome except for a short

time during winter.

The Beths render it obligatory upon every Gentile to say his prayers with his face turned to the East thrice in the twenty-four hours; in the morning, at noon, and at night. The whole of his body must also be washed three times, or at least before every meal; and he is taught that it is more meritorious to perform his ablutions and to repeat his prayers in running than in stagnant water. again regard was probably had to what is not only proper but highly important in such a climate as that of Hindoustan. This, however, is found an inconvenient law to those who happen to live in cold countries, and I have met in my travels with some who placed their lives in imminent danger by a strict observance of that law, by plunging into the rivers or tanks within their reach, or if none were sufficiently near, by throwing large pots full of water over their heads. Sometimes I objected to their

In recent years, similar action as regards petitioning the Supreme Government has been taken in India by influential Hindoos.

religion that it contained a law which it would not be possible to observe in cold climates during the winter season, which was, in my mind, a clear proof that it possessed no divine original, but was merely a system of human invention. Their answer was amusing enough. We pretend not, they replied, that our law is of universal application. God intended it only for us, and this is the reason why we cannot receive a foreigner into our religion. We do not even say that yours is a false religion: it may be adapted to your wants and circumstances. God having, no doubt, appointed many different ways of going to heaven. I found it impossible to convince them that the Christian faith was designed for the whole earth, and theirs was mere fable and gross fabrication.

The Beths teach that God having determined to create the world would not execute his purpose immediately, but first created three perfect beings; one was Brahms, a name which signifies penetrating into all things; the second, Beschen, that is, existing in all things; and the third Mehahden, or the mighty lord. By means of Brahma he created the world; by means of Benchen he upholds it; and by means of Mehahden he will destroy it. It was Brahma who, by God's command, published the four Beths, and for this reason he is represented in some temples with four heads.

I have conversed with European missionaries who thought that the Gentiles have some idea of the mystery of the Trinity, and maintained that the Beths state in direct terms that the three beings, though three persons, are one God. This is a subject on which I have frequently heard

¹ Brahma was from the beginning considered as the Eternal Creative Power, the Holiest of the Holy, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishnu and Mahadeva respectively as the more creature and agent of one of other of these two gods.

the Pendets dilate, but they explain themselves so obscurely that I never could clearly comprehend their opinion. I have heard some of them say that the beingr in question are in reality three very perfect creatures, whom they call Deidas, without being able, however, properly to explain what they mean by this word Deida, like our ancient idolaters, who could never, in my opinion, explain what they meant by the names Genii and Numina, which were probably equivalent to the Deida of the Indians. I have also discoursed with other Pendets distinguished for learning, who said that these three beings are really one and the same God, considered under three different characters, as the creator, upholder, and destroyer of all things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only God.

I was acquainted with the Reverend Father Roa, a

¹ 'I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishnu and Mahadeva) combined, which is without beginning, middle or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishnu is Rudra: he who is Rudra is Pitámaha (Brahma); the substance is one, the gods are three: Rudra, Vishnu, and Pitámaha. —Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 237.

* See p. 303.

Thus in all the editions of Bernier's Travels known to the editor, intended for Father Heinrich Roth, S. J., attached to the Gon Mission, About 1650-1660 he journeyed from Gon to Agra. rid Central India, and during these years studied Sanskrit and the doctrines of the Hindoo religion, in which he was ever afterwards reparded as the best authority of his time, and it is pleasant to find that even thus early, a German should situin such fame as a Sanskrit scholar. About 1665 he travelled from Agra to Rome, will Labore, Multan, down the Indus to 'Sindi' [? Sind] at its mouth, thence by sea, cold Surat, to Ormur, and overland through Persia and Armenia to Smyrns and Rome. He there drew up for Father Kircher (see p. 332, footnote 1), the five engraved plates published by him in his China Illustrata. The first four plates contain the alphabet and elements (in the Devanagri character) of Sanskrit, explained in Latin, and the fifth is Our Lord's Prayer and an Ave Maria, in Sausarit and Latin, to serve as an exercise for beginners. In most of the early editions of Bernler, certainly in all of those pulslished during his lifetime, Sanskrit is everywhere printed Humarat This.

Jesnit, a German by birth, and missionary at Agra, who had made great proficiency in the study of Sauscrit. He assured me that the books of the Gentiles not only state that there is one God in three persons, but that the second person has been nine times embodied in flesh.1 He added that when he was at Chiras, on his return to Rome, a Carmelite Father in that city succeeded, with much address, in ascertaining that the following doctrines are held by the Gentiles. The second person in the Trinity has been, according to them, nine times incarnate in consequence of various evils in the world, from which he delivered mankind. The eighth incarnation was the most remarkable; 1 for they say that the world having been enthralled by the power of giants, it was rescued by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the skies raining flowers that whole night.

peculiarity has arisen, I believe, in this wise. Father Roth doubtlessly acquired his grounding in Sanskrit from a Person Munshi, who would call the language 'Sanskrit, or Sahanskrit,' the form used in the Persian texts of the Ain, which was written about 1599. We learn from Father Kircher (who by the way never uses the word Sanskrit in any form), in the test of the work ched above, that it was Father Roth who with his own hand drew out the originals of these plates. The first plate is headed Elementa Lingua (sic) Hanskeel, the letters So having been omitted by the engraver, or 'deopped,' to use a technical term; because although he has begun the heading correctly as to position, the centre of the 'title' being axial with the body of the plate, the word Hamkret ends just too short by a space sufficient for two letters. This error was probably discovered too late to be satisfactorily remedied, and has misled many subsequent writers without special or technical knowledge; and in Yule's Glaussy this form of the word is characterised as 'difficult to account for,' Hyde, the well-known Orientalist of the Oxford University, has, however (p. 264, vol. il., Syntagma Dissertationum quas olim Thomas Hyde tenantim mulit. Oxon. 1767. Edited by Gregory Sharpe), questioned the correctness of Father Kircher's Hambrit, himself using the word 'Sanscreet' to denote the language of the Brahmins.

3 Auntile, a descent, especially of a deity from heaven; an incarnation. Allusion is made by Bernier to the ten avaides of Vishnu.

³ That of Vishnu as Krishna, in which he is supposed to have been completely incarnate, at Brindalum in the Mathura (Muttra) District.

This in some degree savours of Christianity, but here comes the fable again; for it is added that this incarnate god began by killing a giant who flew in the air, and was so huge as to obscure the sun: his fall caused the whole earth to tremble, and by his weight he so penetrated it that he tumbled at once into hell. The incarnate deity, wounded in the side in the conflict with this mighty giant, fell also, but by his fall put his enemies to flight. He arose again, and after delivering the world ascended into heaven, and because of his wound, he is generally known by the appellation of 'The wounded in the side.' The tenth incarnation, say the Gentiles, will have for its object the emuncipation of mankind from the tyranny of the Mahomelan, and it will take place at the time when, according to our esteulation, Antichrist is to appear; this is however but a popular tradition, not to be found in their sacred books.

They say also that the third person of the Trinity 1 has manifested himself to the world; the following story is related of him. The daughter of a certain king, when she had reached the age of puberty, was desired by her father to mention the person whom she felt disposed to marry, and having answered that she would be united to none but a divine being, the third person of the Trinity appeared in the same instant to the king in the form of fire. He presently apprised his daughter of this happy circumstance, and she without hesitation consented to the marriage. The divine personage, though still assuming a flery appearance, was invited to the king's council, and finding that the privy counsellors opposed the match, he first set fire to their beards, and then burnt them together with the royal household, after which he married the princess. Ridiculous! In regard to the second person, the Gentiles say that his first incarnation was in the nature of a Lion, the second in that of a Hog, the third in that

Mahadev or Siva, the Destroyer and Creator.

² In the original, * Contes de ma mère l'Oye.*

of a Tortoise, the fourth in that of a Scrpent, the fifth in that of a dwarfish or pyguny Brahmen [Pygunee Brahmane], only a cubit in height, the sixth was in the form of a monstrous Man-lion, the seventh in that of a Drugon, the eighth as already described, the ninth in the nature of an Ape, and the tenth is to be in the person of a mighty Cavalier.

I entertain no doubt that the Reverend Father Roa derives from the Beths his knowledge of the doctrines held by the Gentiles, and that the account he gave me forms the basis of their mythology. I had written at considerable length upon this subject, sketched the figures of several of the gods or idels placed in their temples, and caused them to give me the characters of their language, Sanserit; but finding that the principal matter of my manuscript is contained in the China Illustrata of Father Kirker¹ (who obtained much of his information when at Rome from Father Roa²), I deem it sufficient to recommend that book to your perusal. I must observe, however, that the word 'incarnation,' employed by the Reverend Father, was new to me, having never seen it used in the same direct sense.

² Father Roth supplied Kircher with all the information concerning Hindoo mythology contained in his China Illustrata, which will be found, illustrated with curious engravings after Indian drawings, at

pp. 156-162 of that work.

³ Published at Amsterdam by Janszon in 1667, in which, between folios 162 and 163, will be found five full-page copperplate engravings, the first specimens of Sanskrit ever printed or engraved (as for a book) in Europe, or indeed anywhere. Athanasius Kircher, S. J., was born at Giessen near Fulda in 1602, and died at Rome in 1650. A man of immense literary activity, he was, inter alia, what we would now call Home Editorial Secretary of the annual reports sent to Europe by the Jesuit and other Roman missionaries. Kircher was also at one time Professor of Oriental Languages at Wurtzburg. See p. 329, footnate ².

^{*} Elecher quotes Father Roth's own words as follows:— Universim dicant, secundam personam ex Trantate novies jam incarnatam fuisse, et achoe semel incarnatum est.

Some Pendets explained their doctrine to me in this manner: formerly God appeared in the forms which are mentioned, and in those forms performed all the wonders which have been related. Other Pendets said that the souls of certain great men, whom we are wont to call heroes, had passed into the different bodies spoken of, and that they had become Deülus; or, to speak in the phraseology of the idolaters of old, they had become powerful Divinities, Numina, Genii, and Damons; or, if you will, Spirils and Fairies; for I know not how else to render the word Deülu; but this second explanation comes much to the same thing as the first, inasmuch as the Indour believe that their souls are constituent parts of the deity.

Other Pendets again gave me a more refined interpretation. They said that the incarnations or apparitions mentioned in their books, having a mystic sense, and being intended to explain the various attributes of God, ought not to be understood literally. Some of the most learned of those Doctors frankly acknowledged to me that nothing can be conceived more fabulous than all the incarnations, and that they were only the invention of legislators for the sake of retaining the people in some sort of religion. On the supposition that our souls are portions of the deity, a doctrine common to all Gentiles, must not (observed the Pendetr) the reality of those incornations, instead of being made a mysterious part of religion, be exploded by sound philosophy? for, in respect of our souls, we are God, and therefore it would in fact be ourselves who had imposed upon ourselves a religious worship, and a belief in the transmigration of souls, in paradise, and in hell,-which would be absurd,

I am not less indebted to Messieurs Henry Lor and Abraham Roger I than to the Reverend Fathers Kirler and

Henry Lurd, the Anglican chaptain at Surat and author of (1) A Display of two foresigns Sects in the East Indies; (2) A Disposerse of the Sect of the Banians; (3) The Religion of the Fernes. Imprinted

Ros. I had collected a vast number of particulars concerning the Gentiles, that I have since found in the books written by those gentlemen, and which I could not have arranged in the order which they have observed without great labour and difficulty. It is not necessary, therefore, that I could do more than touch briefly on the studies and the science of this people; which I shall do in a general and desultory manner.

The town of Benares, scated on the Ganges, in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of the Gentiles. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the Brahmens and other devotees; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds but slowly; for the gene-

at London for Francis Controble, and are to be Sold at his Shoppe in Fault's Churchyard, at the signs of the Crane, 1630.

Abraham Roger, the first Dutch chaplain (1631-1641) at Pulicat, the earliest settlement of the Hollanders on the mainland in India; their fort, which they called Geldria, having been built in 1609. He returned home in 1647, and died at Gouds in 1649. His widow published her husband's work, which is in every way superior to Heavy Lord's, as "La Porte suverte, pour parvenir à la connolinance an Pagantime Cachel. Assistedam, Cher Jean Schippez, 1670." The information contained in this book is very correct, as the author had it all at first-hand from a Brahman, whom he calls Padmanaha (Padmandéha), who knew Dutch, and who gave him a Dutch translation of Bhaurthari's Satahus, see p. 203 of Roger's book, the first published translation from Sanskrit into any European language.

rality of them are of an indolent disposition, owing, in a great measure, to their diet and the heat of the country. Feeling no spirit of emulation, and entertaining no hope that honours or emolument may be the reward of extraordinary attainments, as with us, the scholars pursue the studies slowly, and without much to distract their attention, while eating their kickery, a mingled mess of vegetables supplied to them by the care of rich merchants of the place.

The first thing taught is the Samerit, a language known only to the Pendels, and totally different from that which is ordinarily spoken in Hindoustan. It is of the Sanscrit that Father Kirker has published an alphabet, which he received from Father Roa,2 The name signifies 'pure language; and because the Gentiles believe that the four sacred books given to them by God, through the medium of Brahma, were originally published in Sanserit, they call it the holy and divine language. They pretend that it is as ancient as Brahma himself, whose age they reckon by lecanes, or hundreds of thousands of years, but I could not rely upon this marvellous age. That it is extremely old, however, it is impossible to deny, the books of their religion, which are of unquestionable antiquity, being all written in Sauscrit. It has also its authors on philosophy, works on medicine written in verse, and many other kinds of books, with which a large hall at Besares is entirely filled

When they have acquired a knowledge of Sanserit, which to them is difficult, because without a really good grammar, they generally study the Purane, which is an abridgment and interpretation of the Bethr; those books being of great bulk, at least if they were the Bethr which were shown to me at Benares. They are so scarce

³ The Poranas, eighteen in number; and it is said that there are also eighteen Upa-Puranas or minor Paranas, but many of them are not now procurable.

that my Agah, notwithstanding all his diligence, has not succeeded in purchasing a copy. The Gentiles indeed canceal them with much eare, lest they should fall into the hands of the Mahometans, and be burnt, as frequently has happened.

After the Purane, some of the students apply their minds to philosophy, wherein they certainly make very little progress. I have already intimated that they are of a slow and indolent temper, and strangers to the excitement which the possibility of advancement in an honourable profession produces among the members of European universities.

Among the philosophers who have flourished in Hindoustan six bear a great name; and from these have sprung the six seets, which cause much jealousy and dispate, the Pendets of each pretending that the doctrines of their particular seet are the soundest, and most in conformity to the Beths. A seventh seet has arisen, called Bauté, which again is the parent of twelve others; but this seet is not so considerable as the former; its adherents are despised and hated, censured as irreligious and atheistical, and lead a life peculiar to themselves.

All their sacred books speak of first principles; but each in a manner totally different from the others. Some say that everything is composed of small bodies which are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness, and resistance, but because of their smallness; and upon this notion they build many other bypotheses, which have an affinity to the theories of Democrilus and Epicarus; but their

These schools of philosophy are: 1. The Nyaya, founded by Gautama; 2. The Varseshika, by Kanada; 3. The Sankhya, by Kapala; 4. The Yoga, by Patanjali; 5. The Mimanai, by Jalmini; 6. The Vedanta, by Badarayana.

⁻ Ruddha, whose religion, Buddhism, although asserting itself from the first as an independent religion, may be fairly said to be in many respects a development of Brahmanism. This passage bears unmistakable signs of the Hindeo origin of the information regarding this great recorded by Beroler.

opinions are expressed in so loose and indeterminate a manner that it is difficult to ascertain their meaning; and considering the extreme ignorance of the *Pendets*, those even reputed the most learned, it may be fairly doubted whether this vagueness be not rather attributable to the expounders than to the authors of the books.

Others say that everything is composed of matter and form, but not one of the doctors explains himself clearly about matter, and still less about form. They are so far intelligible, however, as to show me that they understand neither the one nor the other in the same manner as these terms are usually explained in our Schools, where we speak of educing form out of the power of matter; for they always take their examples from material objects, such as that of a vessel of soft clay, which a potter turns and forms into various shapes.

Some hold that all is composed of the four elements and out of nothing; yet they give not the least explanation concerning commingling and transmutation. And as to 'nothing,' which is nearly tantamount to our privation, they admit I know not how many sorts, which I imagine the *Pendets* neither comprehend themselves, nor can make intelligible to others.

Some maintain that light and darkness are the first principles, and in support of this opinion they make a thousand foolish and confused observations; alleging reasons disowned by true philosophy, and delivering long discourses which would suit the ear only of the vulgar and illiterate.

There are others again who admit privation as a principle, or rather the privations which they distinguish from nothing, and of which they make a long enumeration, so useless and unphilosophical that I can scarcely believe their authors would employ the pen about such trifling opinions, and that consequently it cannot be contained in their books.

Many, in fine, pretend that everything is the result of

fortuitous circumstances, and of these they also have a long, strange, and tedious catalogue, worthy only of an ignorant and low babbler.

In regard to all these principles, it is agreed by the Pendets that they are eternal. The production from nothing does not seem to have occurred to their mind, any more than to the mind of many of the ancient philosophers. There is one of the sages, however, who, they

pretend, has said something on the subject.

On physic they have a great number of small books, which are rather collections of recipes than regular treatises. The most ancient and the most esteemed is written in verse. I shall observe, by the way, that their practice differs essentially from ours, and that it is grounded on the following acknowledged principles: a patient with a fever requires no great nourishment; the sovereign remedy for sickness is abstinence; nothing is worse for a sick body than meat broth, for it soon corrupts in the stomach of one afflicted with fever; a patient should be bled only on extraordinary occasions, and where the necessity is most obvious—as when there is reason to apprehend a brain fever, or when an inflammation of the chest, liver, or kidneys, has taken place.

Whether these modes of treatment be judicious, I leave to our learned physicians to decide; I shall only remark that they are successful in *Hindoustan*, and that the *Mogol* and *Mahometan* physicians, who follow the rules of *Avicenna* and *Avernes*, adopt them no less than do those of the *Gentiles*, especially in regard to abstinence from meat broth. The *Mogols*, it is true, are rather more given to the practice of bleeding than the *Gentiles*; for where they apprehend the inflammations just mentioned, they generally bleed once or twice, not in the trifling manner of the modern practitioners of *Goal* and *Paris*, but

¹ The doctors of Goa were held in high extent, and great honours, such as being allowed to have umbrelles carried over them, were paid to them. John Huyghen van Linschoten, who lived in Goa for five.

copiously, like the ancients, taking eighteen or twenty ounces of blood, sometimes even to fainting; thus frequently subdaing the disease at the commencement, according to the advice of Galen, and as I have witnessed in several cases.

It is not surprising that the Gentiles understand nothing of anatomy. They never open the body either of man or beast, and those in our bousehold always ran away, with amazement and horror, whenever I opened a living goat or sheep for the purpose of explaining to my Agah the circulation of the blood, and showing him the vessels, discovered by Pecquet, through which the chyle is conveyed to the right ventricle of the heart. Yet notwithstanding their profound ignorance of the subject, they affirm that the number of veins in the human body is five thousand, neither more nor less; just as if they had carefully reckoned them.

In regard to astronomy, the Gentiles have their tables, according to which they foretell eclipses, not perhaps with the minute exactness of European astronomers, but still with great accuracy. They reason, however, in the same ridiculous way on the lunar as on the solar eclipse, believing that the obscuration is caused by a black, filthy, and mischievous Deita, named Hach, who takes possession of the moon and fills her with infection. They also maintain, much on the same ground, that the moon is four

years, 1583-1588, says of them to There are in Gos many Heathen phisitions which observe their gravities with hats carried over them for the sanne, like the Portingales, which no other heathens doe, but [onely] Ambassadors, or some rich Marchants. These Heathen phisitions doe not onely care there owne nations [and countrience] but the Portingales also, for the Vicercy himselfe, the Archbishop, and all the Monkes and Friers doe put more trust in them then in their own countriency, whereby they get great [ature of] money, and are much honoured and extremed. — Poyage to the East Indies, Haklays Soc. ed. 1885, vol. i. p. 230.

¹ See p. 324.

² Rakshassa, literally giants, 'unknown creatures of darkness, to which superstition of all ages and races has attributed the evils that attend this life, and a malignant desire to injure mankind.'

hundred thousand coses, that is, above fifty thousand leagues, higher than the sun; that she is a luminous body, and that we receive from her a certain vital liquid secretion, which collects principally in the brain, and, descending thence as from its source into all the members of the body, enables them to exercise their respective functions. They believe likewise that the sun, moon, and stars are all so many deidas; that the darkness of night is caused by the sun retiring behind the Someire, an imaginary mountain placed in the centre of the earth, in form like an inverted sugar loaf, and an altitude of I know not how many thousand leagues: so that they never enjoy the light of day but when the sun leaves the back of this mountain.

In geography they are equally uninstructed. They believe that the world is flat and triangular; that it is composed of seven distinct habitations, differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants, and that each is surrounded by its own peculiar sea; that one sea is of milk; another of sugar; a third of butter; a fourth of wine; and so on; so that sea and land occur alternately until you arrive at the seventh stage from the foot of the Someire mountain, which is in the centre. The first habitation, or that nearest to the Someire, is inhabited by Deitus who are very perfect; the second has also Deutus for inhabitants, but they are less perfect; and so it is with the rest, whose inhabitants are less and less perfect, until the seventh, which is our earth, inhabited by men infinitely less perfect than any of the Deulas; and finally that the whole of this world is supported on the heads of a number of elephants, whose occasional motion is the cause of earthquakes.

If the renowned sciences of the ancient Bragmanes of the Indies consisted of all the extravagant follies which I have detailed, mankind have indeed been deceived in the

¹ By this is meant Su-meru, or the Golden Meru, the shape of which is variously described in the different Puranas, though all represent it as of enormous size and great beauty—the Olympus of the Hindoos.

exalted opinion they have long entertained of their wisdom. I should find it difficult to persuade myself that such was the fact, did I not consider that the religion of the Indiana has existed from time immemorial; that it is written in Sanserit, as are likewise all their scientific books; that the Sanserit has long become a dead language, understood only by the learned; and that its origin is unknown: all which proves a very great antiquity. I will now say a word or two on the worship of idols.

When going down the river Ganger, I passed through Benares, and called upon the chief of the Pendels, who resides in that celebrated seat of learning. He is a Fakire or Devotee so eminent for knowledge that Chah-Jelian, partly for that consideration, and partly to gratify the Rajas, granted him a pension of two thousand roupies, which is about one thousand crowns. He is a atout, well-made man, and his dress consists of a white silk searf, tied about the waist, and hanging half way down the leg, and of another tolerably large searf of red silk, which he wears as a cloak on his shoulders. I had often seen him in this sennty dress at 'Dehli, in the assembly of the Omrahs and before the King, and met him in the streets either on foot or in a paleky. During one year he was in the constant habit of visiting my Agah. to whom he paid his court in the hope that he would exercise his influence to obtain the pension of which Aureng Zebe, anxious to appear a true Musulman, deprived him on coming to the throne. I formed consequently a close intimacy with this distinguished personage, with whom I had long and frequent conversations; and when I visited him at Benures he was most kind and attentive. giving me a collation in the university library. I to which

² Tavernier, when travelling from Agra to Bengal in 1665, on which journey be was accompanied by Bernier, was at Benares on the 11th, 12th, and 13th December of that year. He tells us (Travele, vol. dipp. 234, 235) that adjoining a great temple, 'on the side which faces the setting out at midsummer, there is a boose which serves as a

he invited the six most learned Pendets in the town: Finding myself in such excellent company, I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving the ladies scandalised at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing. 'We have indeed in our temples,' said they, 'a great variety of images, such as that of Brahma, of Mehaden,1 of Genich,2 and of Gazani,3 who are the principal and the most perfect of the Deidas, and we have many others esteemed less perfect. To all these images we pay great honour; prostrating our bodies, and presenting to them, with much ceremony, flowers, rice, scented oil, saffron and other similar articles. Yet do we not believe that these statues are themselves Brahma or Becken; but merely their images and representations. We show them deference only for the sake of the deity whom they represent, and when we pray it is not to the statue, but to that deity. Images are admitted in our temples, because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that He only is the omnipotent Lord.'

I have neither added to nor taken from the answer that the Pendels gave me; but I suspect it was so framed

college, which the Raja Jat Sixon, the most powerful of the idolatrous princes, who was then in the Empire of the Grear Mogut, has founded for the education of the youth of good families. I naw the children of this Prince, who were being educated there, and had as teachers several Brahmins, who taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols, and is very different from that spoken by the people.

1 Mahá-Deva, the great goil, one of the names of Siva.

2 Gangali, the son of Siva and Parvati, the god of good luck.

Probably a misprint for Barons, meaning lihawant, one of the names of the wife of Siva.

⁴ Vishmu, the preserver and restorer.

as to correspond with the tenets of Christianity. The observations made to me by other learned Pendets were totally different.

I then turned the conversation to the subject of chronology, and my company soon showed me a far higher antiquity than ours. They would not say that the world was without a beginning; but the great age they gave it sounded almost as if they had pronounced it eternal. Its duration, said they, is to be reckoned by four Dyugues, or distinct ages; 1 not ages composed, as with us, of an hundred years, but of one hundred leagues. that is to say, of an hundred times one hundred thousand years. I do not recollect exactly the number of years assigned to each Dgugue, but I know that the first, called Sale-Daugue, continued during a period of five-and-twenty leagues of years; that the second, called Trita, lasted above twelve lecques; the third, called Duapor, subsisted, if I mistake not, eight lecques and sixty-four thousand years; and the fourth, called the Kale-Dgugue, is to continue I forget how many lecques of years. The first three, they said, and much of the fourth, are passed away, and the world will not endure so many ages as it has done, because it is destined to perish at the termination of the fourth Daugue, when all things will return to their first principles. Having pressed the Pendels to tell me the exact age of the world, they tried their arithmetical skill over and over again; but finding that they were sailly perplexed, and even at variance as to the number of leagues, I satisfied myself with the general information that the world is astonishingly old. Whenever any of these learned Brahmens is nrged to state the facts on which be grounds his belief of this vast antiquity, he entertains the inquirer with a set of ridiculous fables, and finishes by

¹ Yugar or ages, concerning the correct method of recknoing which there are many conflicting accounts. They are termed the Krita (some as the Sate, for Solys, of Bernier's enumeration), Tretá, Dwapara, and Kali Yuga.

asserting that it is so stated in their Beths, or Books of the Lams, which have been given to them by Brohun.

I then tried them on the nature of their Deitas, but their explanation was very confused. These Gods consist, they said, of three kinds, good, bad, and indifferent. Some of the learned believe that the Deitas are composed of fire, others that they are formed of light, and many are of opinion that they are Biapek; a word of which I could obtain no clearer explication than that God is Biapek, that our soul is Biapek, and that whatever is Biapek is incorruptible and independent of time and place. There are Pendets again who, according to my learned host and his companions, pretend that Deitas are only portions of the divinity; and lastly, others consider them as certain species of distinct divinities, dispersed over the surface of the globe.

I remember that I also questioned them on the nature of the Lengue-cherire, which some of their authors admit; but I could elicit no more from them than what I had long before learnt from our Pender; namely, that the seeds of plants, of trees, and of animals do not receive a new creation; that they have existed, scattered abroad and intermixed with other matter, from the first creation of the world; and that they are nothing more or less, not only in potentiality, as it is called, but in reality, than plants, trees and animals entirely perfect, but so minute that their separate parts only become visible when being brought to their proper place, and there receiving nourishment they develop and increase; so that the seed of an apple- or pear-tree is a Lengue-cherire, a small

1 For apapola (Sanskrit), all-pervading.

² Linga, or spiritual body, of the *libagarud Gitá*, or Sacred Lay, the great Sanskrit philosophical poem. Bernier here alludes to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the transmignation of the soul, after the material body formed in the womb has been dissolved into its primary elements after death. The spiritual body (*linga*), formed of the finer elements of matter, then accompanies the soul in all its migrations, until the latter has attained to mirrana, or absorption into the Supreme Creator.

apple- or pear-tree, perfect in all its essential parts; and the aced of a horse, of an elephant, or of a man is a Lengue-cherire, a small horse, a small elephant or a small man, which requires only life and nourishment in order to its visibly assuming its proper form.

In conclusion, I shall explain to you the Mysticism of a Great Scat 1 which has latterly made great noise in Hindoustan, inasmuch as certain Pendets or Gentile Doctors had instilled it into the minds of Dara and Sultan Sujah, the elder sons of Chak-Jehan.⁹

You are doubtless acquainted with the doctrine of

1 In the original, 'le mystere d'une grande Cabale.'

Mirzá Muhammad Kázim, the historian, in his clamgir Náma, which is a history of the first ten years of the reign of the Emperor Alamgir (Aurangzeb), written in 1658, treats of the heresy of Dárá Shikoh as follows:—

Dara Shukoh in his later days did not restrain himself to the freethinking and beretical notions which he had adopted under the name of Tammuraf (Sufam), but showed an inclination for the religion and institutions of the Hindus. He was constantly in the society of Brillmans, Josis, and Sannyaids, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books, which they call Red, as being the Word of God and revealed from Heaven, and he called them ancient and excellent books. He was under such delusion about this Bar that he collected Brahmans and Sannydels from all parts of the country, and paying them great respect and attention, he employed them in translating the Bed. He spent all his time in this unboly work, and devoted all his attention to the contents of these wretched books. . . . Through these perverted opinions he had given up the prayers, fasting. and other obligations imposed by the law. . . . It became manifest that if Dara Shukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the fath would be in danger and the precepts of Islam would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism'-Elliot, History of India, vol. vil. page 179. For a definition of Sufam, which is and always has been looked upon as rank heresy by orthodox Movlems, see p. 320, footnote 1. Sannyald is the name in modern times for various sects of Hindoo religious mendicants who wander about and subsist upon alms; the 'naked Fakira' described by Bernier (p. 317), of whom Sarmet was one. According to the laws of Mann, the life of a Brahman was divided into four stages, the fourth of which was that of a Sannyasi. 'The religious mendioant

many of the ancient philosophers concerning that great life-giving principle of the world, of which they argue that we and all living creatures are so many parts: if we carefully examine the writings of Plato and Aristotle, we shall probably discover that they inclined towards this opinion. This is the almost universal doctrine of the Gentile Pendets of the Indies, and it is this same doctrine which is held by the sect of the Soufys and the greater part of the learned men of Persia at the present day, and which is set forth in Persian poetry in very explicit and emphatic language, in their Goul-tchen-raz, or Garden of Mysteries. This was also the opinion of Flud, whom

who, freed from all forms and observances, wanders about and subsists on alms, practising or striving for that condition of mind which, heedless of the fiesh, is intent only upon the Deity and final absorption.'—Dowson, Charical Dict. of Hindu Mythology, London, 1879.

1 The Gulshan Raz, or 'Mystic Rose Garden,' was composed in 717 A.H. (1317 A.D.) in answer to fifteen questions on the doctrines of the Sufis propounded by Amir Syad Hosaini, a celebrated Sufi of Khorisan. Hardly anything is known of the author, Muhammad Shabistari, further than that he was born at Shabistar, a village in Azarbaijan, and that he wrote this poem and died at Tabriz, the capital town of the same province, in 720 A.H. = 1320 A.D. 'To the European reader the Gulthan Ras is useful as being one of the clearest explanations of that peculiar phraseology which pervades Persian poetry, and without a clear understanding of which it is impossible to appreciate that poetry as it deserves. And it is also interesting as being one of the most articulate expressions of " Sufism," that remarkable phrase of Muhammadan religious thought which corresponds to the mysticism of European theology.' See the Gulrham Raz of Najm ud din, otherwise called Sa'd ud din Mahmud Shabistars Taleryi. Translated by E. H. Whinfield, M.A., of the Bengal Civil Service. Wyman and Co., Publishers, Hare Street, Calcutta, 1876.

* Robert Flud, or Fludd, Physician, bealer by 'faith-natural,' and Rosicrucian, was born at Bearsted in Kent in 1574, and died in London, 1637. He is the chief English representative of that school of medical mystics who laid claim to the possession of the key to universal science, and his voluminous writings on things divine and human attracted more attention abroad than in his own country. Gassendl's contribution to the controversy was his Examen Philosophian Find-change, published in 1631.

our great Gassendy has so ably refuted; and it is similar to the doctrines by which most of our alchymists have been hopelessly led astray. Now these Secturies or Indou-Pendets, so to speak, push the incongruities in question further than all these philosophers, and pretend that God, or that supreme being whom they call Achar 1 (Immovable, unchangeable) has not only produced life from his own substance, but also generally everything material or corporeal in the universe, and that this production is not formed simply after the manner of efficient causes, but as a spider which produces a web from its own navel, and withdraws it at pleasure. The Creation then, say these visionary doctors, is nothing more than an extraction or extension of the individual substance of God, of those filaments which He draws from his own bowels; and, in like manner, destruction is merely the recalling of that divine substance and filaments into Himself; so that the last day of the world, which they call maperlé or pralen,2 and in which they believe every being will be annihilated, will be the general recalling of those filaments which God had before drawn forth from Himself.-There is, therefore, say they, nothing real or substantial in that which we think we see, hear or smell, taste or touch; the whole of this world is, as it were, an illusory dream, masmuch as all that variety which appears to our outward senses is but one only and the same thing, which is God Himself; in the same manner as all those different numbers, of ten, twenty, a hundred, a thousand, etc., are but the frequent repetition of the same unit.-But ask them some reason for this idea; beg them to explain how this extraction and reception of substance occurs, or to account for that apparent variety; or how it is that God not being corporeal

⁴ See p. 325.

Maha-pralaya, or total dissolution of the universe at the end of a hulps (a day and night of Brahma, equal to 4,320,000,000 years) when the seven ladar (divisions of the universe) and their inhabitants, men, saints, gods, and Brahma himself, are annihilated. Fullaya is a modified form of dissolution.

but biapek, as they allow, and incorruptible, He can be thus divided into so many portions of body and soul, they will answer you only with some fine similes :- That God is as an immense ocean in which many vessels of water are in continual motion; let these vessels go where they will, they always remain in the same ocean, in the same water; and if they should break, the water they contain would then be united to the whale, to that ocean of which they were but parts .- Or they will tell you that it is with God as with the light, which is the same everywhere, but causes the objects on which it falls to assume a hundred different appearances, according to the various colours or forms of the glasses through which it passes,-They will never attempt to satisfy you, I say, but with such comparisons as these, which bear no proportion with God, and which serve only to blind an ignorant people. In vain will you look for any solid answer. If one should reply that these vessels might float in a water similar to their own, but not in the same ; and that the light all over the world is indeed similar, but not the same, and so on to other strong objections which may be made to their theory, they have recourse continually to the same similes, to fine words, or, in the case of the Soufus, to the beautiful poems of their Goul-tchen-raz.

Now, Sir, what think you? Had I not reason from all this great tissue of extravagant folly on which I have remarked; from that childish panie of which I have spoken above; from that superstitious piety and compassion toward the sun in order to deliver it from the malignant and dark Deita; from that trickery of prayers, of ablutions, of dippings, and of alms, either east into the river, or bestowed on Brahmens; from that mad and infernal hardihood of women to burn themselves with the body of those husbands whom frequently they have hated while alive; from those various and frantic practices of the Fakires; and lastly, from all that fabulous trash of their Beths and other books; was I not justified in taking as a motto to

this letter,—the wretched fruit of so many voyages and so many reflections, a motto of which the modern satirist has so well known how to catch and convey the idea without so long a journey—'There are no opinions too extravagant and ridiculous to find reception in the mind of man'?

To conclude, you will do me a kindness by delivering Monsieur Chapelle's 1 letter into his own hands; it was he who first obtained for me that acquaintance with your intimate and Illustrious friend, Monsieur Gassendi, which has since proved so advantageous to me. I am so much obliged to him for this favour that I cannot but love and remember him wherever my lot may be cast. I also feel myself under much obligation to you, and am bound to honour you all my life, not only on account of the partiality you have manifested toward me, but also for the valuable advice contained in your frequent letters, by which you have aided me during my journeys, and for your goodness in having sent me so disinterestedly and gratuitously a collection of books to the extremity of the world, whither my curiosity had led me; while those of whom I requested them, who might have been paid with money which I had left at Marseilles, and who in common politeness should have sent them, deserted me and laughed at my letters, looking on me as a lost man whom they were never more to see.

The letter referred to, despatched, as was the present one, from Chiras, but on the 10th June 1668, Concerning his intention of remaining his studies, on some points which relate to the doctrine of atoms, and to the mature of the human understanding, is not printed in this present edition. It contains much curious matter, but nothing discould relating to Bernier's Indian superiences. Claude-Emmonuel Luillier Chapella (1626-1645) was a natural son of François Luillier's, at whose house (insendi was a frequent guest; struck by the talent of young Chapelle he gave him lessons in philosophy together with Molicie and Bernier.



FIRST LETTER

TO MONSIEUR

DE MERVEILLES

Written at Dehli, the 14th December 1664, Aureng-Zebe being about to set forth.

Concerning the March of Aureng-Zebe. His Army, with the horse Artillery which as a rule he retains as a body-guard. The State maintained by his principal Nobles. The causes of the badness of the water, and various other details worthy of note when travelling in the Indies.



ONSIEUR,

Sixes the time of Aureng-Zebe's recovery it had been constantly rumoured that he intended to visit Lahor and Kachemire, in order to benefit his health by change of air and avoid the approaching summer heat, from which a relapse might be apprehended. Many intelligent persons, it is true, could scarcely persuade themselves that the King would venture upon so long a journey while his father remained a prisoner in the citadel of Agra. Considerations of policy, however, have yielded to those of health; if indeed this excursion may not rather be attributed to the

arts and influence of Ranchenara-Begum, who has been long anxious to inhale a purer air than that of the Scraglio, and to appear in her turn amid a pompous and magnificent army, as her sister Begum-Saheb had done during the reign of Chah-Jehan.

The King left this city on the sixth of December, at three o'clock in the afternoon; a day and hour which, according to the astrologers of Dehli, cannot fail to prove propitious to long journeys. Having reached Chah-limar,



Fig. 12.-Hamban Ark Begum.

his country villa, which is about two leagues distant from the capital, he remained there six whole days in order to afford time for the preparations required by an expedition which was to last eighteen months. We hear to-day that he has set out with the intention of encamping on the Lahor road, and that after two days be will pursue his journey without further delay.

He is attended not only by the thirty-five thousand

cavalry which at all times compose his body-guard, and by infantry exceeding ten thousand in number, but likewise by the heavy artillers and the light or stirrup-artillery, so called because it is inseparable from the King's person, which the large pieces of ordnance must occasionally quit for the high roads, in order that they may proceed with greater facility. The heavy artillery consists of seventy pieces, mostly of brass. Many of these cannon are so ponderous that twenty yoke of oxen are necessary to draw them along; and some, when the road is steep or rugged require the aid of elephants, in addition to the oxen, to much the carriage-wheels with their bends and trunks. The stirrup-artillery is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each mounted, as I have observed elsewhere, on a small carriage of neat construction and beautifully painted, decorated with a number of red streamers, and drawn by two handsome horses, driven by an artilleryman. There is always a third or relay horse, which is led by an assistant gunner. These field-pieces travel at a quick rate, so that they may be ranged in front of the royal tent in sufficient time to fire a volley as a signal to the troops of the King's arrival.

So large a retinue has given rise to a suspicion that instead of visiting Kachemire, we are destined to lay slege to the important city of Kandahar, which is situated equally on the frontiers of Persia, Hindonstan and Usbec. It is the capital of a fine and productive country, yielding a very considerable revenue; and the possession of it has consequently been at all times warmly contested between the Monarchs of Persia and India.

Whatever may be the destination of this formidable force, every person connected therewith must hasten to quit Dehli, however the urgency of his affairs may require his stay; and were I to delay my own departure I should find it difficult to overtake the army. Besides, my Navaab, or Agah, Danech-mend-kan, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philo-

sophical studies in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography, and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendy and Descartes.1 I shall commence my journey this very night, after having finally arranged all my affairs, and supplied myself with much the same necessaries as if I were a cavalry officer of rank. As my pay is one hundred and fifty crowns per month, I am expected to keep two good Turkoman horses, and I also take with me a powerful Persian camel and driver, a groom for my horses, a cook and a servant to go before my horse with a flagon of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country. I am also provided with every useful article, such as a tent of moderate size, a carpet, a portable bed 2 made of four very strong but light canes, a pillow. a couple of coverlets, one of which, twice doubled, serves for a mattress, a soufra,3 or round leathern table-cloth used at meals, some few napkins of dyed cloth, three small bags with culinary utensils which are all placed in a large bag, and this bag is again carried in a very capacious and strong double sack or net made of leathern thongs. This double sack likewise contains the provisions, linen, and wearing apparel, both of master and servants. I have taken care to lay in a stock of excellent rice for five or six days' consumption, of sweet biscuits flavoured with anise, of limes and sugar. Nor have I forgotten a linen bag with its small iron hook for the purpose of suspending and draining days, or curds; nothing being considered so refreshing in this country as

¹ See p. 324.

² In the original, *lit à sangles*, a camp-bed with ordinary webbing or tape (*newár* in Hindostanee), in common use at the present day, most useful for travelling in Kashmir.

³ Sufra, sometimes made of cotton chintz. Leather ones, of the sambhur deer-skins are still made in the Gorakhpur district of Northern India.

lemonade and days. All these things, as I said before, are packed in one large sack, which becomes so unwickly that three or four men can with difficulty place it on the camel, although the animal kneels down close to it, and all that is required is to turn one of the sides of the sack over its back.

Not a single article which I have mentioned could conveniently be spared during so extended an excursion as the one in prospect. Here we cannot expect the comfortable lodgings and accommodations of our own country; a tent will be our only inn, and we must make up our minds to encamp and live after the fashion of Arabs and Tartars. Nor can we hope to supply our wants by pillage: in Hindoustan every acre of land is considered the property of the King, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King's domain. In undertaking this long march it is consoling to reflect that we shall move in a northern direction, that it is the commencement of winter, and that the periodical rains have fallen. This is, indeed, the proper season for travelling in the Indies, the rains having ceased, and the heat and dust being no longer intolerable. happy at the idea of not being any longer exposed to the danger of eating the bazar bread of Dehli, which is often badly baked and full of sand and dust. I may hope, too,

¹ Dubi, the curdled milk so well known to all Anglo-Indians, somewhat resembling the diche milch (thickened milk) of Northern Germany. Ovington, at p. 310 of A voyage to Surent in the year 1689, Lond. 1695, describes it very correctly as follows: 'Dye is a particular innocent kind of Diet, feel upon by the Indiana for the most part about Noon. It is aweet Milk turn'd thick, mix'd with boil'd Rice and Sugar, and is very effectual against the Rage of Fever and of Flexes, the prevailing Distempers of India. Early in the Morning, or late at Night, they seldom touch it, because they esteem it too cool for their Stornachs and Nocturnal Delights.'

^{*} Rasaar ki rati is still at a discount in India. It is considered rather a reproach among the Moslams of Northern India to habitually est 'baraar-baked bread,' as implying that their families are too indolent, or for other reasons unable to provide good 'borne-made' bread.

for better water than that of the capital, the impurities of which exceed my power of description; as it is accessible to all persons and animals, and the receptacle of every kind of filth. Fevers most difficult to cure are engendered by it, and worms are bred in the legs which produce violent inflammation, attended with much danger. If the patient leave Dehli, the worm is generally soon expelled, although there have been instances where it has continued in the system for a year or more. They are commonly of the size and length of the treble string of a violin, and might be easily mistaken for a sinew. In extracting them great caution should be used lest they break; the best way is to draw them out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them round a small twig of the size of a pin.¹

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me to think that I shall not be exposed to any of these inconveniences and dangers, as my Navaab has with marked kindness ordered that a new load of his own household

The Guines-worm, a parasitic worm (Filoria Medinennis) inhabiting the subcutaneous cellular tissue, so called on secount of their prevalence in Guinez as recounted in Purchas. Indian medical expects, foremost among whom is Sir William Moore, K. C. I. E., Q. H. P., of the Bombay Establishment, are of opinion that the "fiery surpents" with which the children of larsel were afflicted were Guinez-worms.

'5. And the people spake against God, and against Mosea, Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? for there is no bread, neither is these any water; and our soul loatheth this light bread."

'6. And the Lord sent fery serpents among the people; and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died." (Numbers axi.)

Thanks to the measures for introducing improved satistation into India, one of the greatest benefits that British rule has conferred upon that country, 'there is a consensus of opinion that dysentery has become less severe in its nature and also less prevalent. Gainea-worm has been banished from localities where it was formerly endemic. Delhi-sore has become almost a memory of the past, as most opine from the use of good water.' See Sir William Moore's paper on Sanilary Progress in India, read at a special meeting for the consideration of questions relating to hygiene and demography in India, held at the London University, 13th August 1891.

bread, and a source of Ganges water (with which, like every person attached to the court, he has laden several camels)1 should be presented to me every morning. A sourm is that tin flagon of water, covered with red cloth, which a servant carries before his master's horse. It commonly holds a quart, but mine is purposely made to contain two, a device which I hope may succeed. This flagon keeps the water very cool, provided the cloth which covers it be always moist. The servant who bears it in his hand should also continue in motion and agitate the air; or it should be exposed to the wind, which is usually done by putting the flagon on three neat little sticks arranged so that it may not touch the ground. The moisture of the cloth, the agitation of the air, or exposure to the wind, is absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh, as if this moisture, or rather the water which has been imbibed by the cloth, arrested the little bodies, or fiery particles, existing in the air at the same time that it affords a passage to the nitrous or other particles which impede motion in the water and produce cold, in the same manner as glass arrests water, and allows light to pass through it, in consequence of the contexture and particular disposition of the particles of glass, and the difference which exists between the minute particles of water and those of light. It is only in the field that this tin flagon is used. When at home, we put the water into jars made of a certain porous earth, which are covered with a wet cloth; and, if exposed to the wind, these jars keep the water much cooler than the flagon. The higher sort of people make use of saltpetre, whether in town or with the army. They pour the water, or any other liquid they may wish to cool, into a tin flagon, round and long-necked, as I have seen English glass bottles. The flagon is then stirred, for the space of seven or eight minutes, in water into which three or four handfuls of saltpetre have been thrown. The liquid thus

¹ See p. 221.

becomes very cold and is by no means anwholesome, as I apprehended, though at first it sometimes affects the bowels.¹

But to what purpose am I indulging in scientific disquisitions when on the eve of departure, when my thoughts should be occupied with the burning sun to which I am about to be exposed, and which in the Indies it is sufficiently painful to endure at any season; with the daily packing, loading and unloading; with the neverceasing instructions to servants; with the pitching and striking of my tent; with marches by day, and marches by night; in short, with the precarious and wandering life which for the ensuing eighteen months I am doomed to experience? Adicu, my Friend; I shall not fail to perform my promise, and to impart to you from time to time all our adventures. The army on this occasion will advance by easy marches: it will not be disquieted with the apprehension of an enemy, but move with the gorgeous magnificence peculiar to the Kings of Hindouston. I shall therefore endeavour to note every interesting occurrence in order that I may communicate it as soon as we arrive at Lahor.

^{&#}x27;Saltpetre, which in gunpowder produces the explosive heat, is used by his Majesty as a means for cooling water, and is thus a source of joy for great and small.'—din, p. 55.



SECOND LETTER

TO THE SAME

Written at Lahor, the 25th February 1665. Aureng-Zebe having arrived there.

Concerning the extent, the magnificence, and the mode of ordering the Camp of the Great Mogol. The number of the Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Men-Porters necessary for its transport. The arrangement of the Bazars or Royal Markets, the quarters set apart for the Omrahs or Nobles, and the rest of the Army. The area occupied by the Army when thus encamped. The various difficulties met with and how overcome. The measures taken to prevent robberies. The modes of travelling adopted by the King, the Princesses, and the rest of the Harem. The risks one encounters on approaching too near the Seraglio. The various kinds of Hunting enjoyed by the King, accompanied by all his Army. The number of persons accompanying the Army, and how they exist.

MONSIEUR,

This is indeed slow and solemn marching, what we here call à la Mogole. Lahor is little more than one hundred and twenty leagues or about fifteen days' journey from Dehli, and we have been nearly two months on the road. The King, it is true, together with the greater part of the army, diverged from the highway, in search

of better ground for the aports of the field, and for the convenience of obtaining the water of the Genna, which we had gone in search of to the right; and we leisurely skirted its bank, hunting and shooting amid grass so high as almost to conceal our horsemen, but abounding in every kind of game. We are now in a good town, enjoying repose; and I cannot better employ my time than in committing to paper the various particulars which have engaged my mind since I quitted Dehli. Soon I hope to conduct you to Kachemire, and to show you one of the most beautiful countries in the world.

Whenever the King travels in military pomp he has always two private camps; that is to say, two separate bodies of tents. One of these camps being constantly a day in advance of the other, the King is sure to find at the end of every journey a camp fully prepared for his reception. It is for this reason that these separate bodies of tents are called Peiche-kanes 2 or houses which precede. The two Peiche-kanés are nearly equal, and to transport one of them the aid of more than sixty elephants, two hundred camels, one hundred mules, and one hundred men-porters is required.3 The most bulky things are carried by the elephants, such as the large tents, with their heavy poles, which on account of their great length and weight are made so as to be taken down into three pieces. The smaller tents are borne by the camels, and the luggage and kitchen utensils by the mules. To the porters are confided the lighter and more valuable articles, as the porcelain used at the King's table, the painted and gilt beds, and those rich Karguais, of which I shall speak hereafter.

¹ See p. 221, footnote 1.

³ Pairis thanah, advance house or camp, the double set of tents which add so immensely to the comfort of 'camping' in India.

² Each encomponent requires for its carriage 100 elsphants, 500 camels, 400 carrs, and 100 bearers. - Aist, p. 47.

^{*} Khargihs, folding tents, some with one, others with two doors, and made in various ways.

One of the Peiche-kanés has no sooner reached the place intended for the new encampment than the Grand Quarter-Master selects some fine situation for the King's tents, paying, however, as much attention as possible to the exact symmetry of the whole camp. He then marks out a square, each side of which measures more than three hundred ordinary paces. A hundred pioneers presently clear and level this space, raising square platforms of earth on which they pitch the tents. The whole of this extensive square is then encompassed with kanales, or sorcens, seven or eight feet in height, secured by cords attached to pegs, and by poles fixed two by two in the ground, at every ten paces, one pole within and the other without, and each leaning upon the other. The kanates are made of strong cloth, lined with printed Indian calico, representing large vases of flowers.1 The royal entrance, which is spacious and magnificent, is in the centre of one of the sides of the square, and the flowered calico of which it is composed, as well as that which lines the whole exterior face of this side of the square, is of much finer texture and richer than the rest.

The first and largest tent erected in the royal camp is named Am-kus; being the place where the King and all the nobility keep the mokam; that is, where they assemble at nine o'clock in the morning for the purpose of deliberating on affairs of state and of administering justice. The Kings of Hindousian seldom fail, even when in the field, to hold this assembly twice during the twenty-four hours, the same as when in the capital. The custom is regarded as a matter of law and duty, and the observance of it is rarely neglected.

The second tent, little inferior in size and somewhat

2 In the Emperor Akher's camps this was a two-storied tent or pavilion.
2 See p. 266-

¹ These kandtr were technically called guldider, and were a series of folding screens, frames of wood covered with red cloth tied on with tape, and fastened together with leather straps. See Ais., p. 54-

further within the enclosure, is called the gaste-kané,1 or the place for bathing. It is here that all the nobility meet every evening to pay their obeisance to the King, in the same manner as when the court is at Dehli. This evening assembly subjects the Omrahr to much inconvenience; but it is a grand and imposing spectacle in a dark night to behold, when standing at some distance, long rows of torches lighting these Nobles, through extended lanes of tents, to the gosle-kane, and attending them back again to their own quarters. These flambeaux, although not made of wax, like ours in France, burn a long time. They merely consist of a piece of iron hafted in a stick, and surrounded at the extremity with linen rags steeped in oil, which are renewed, as occasion requires, by the masalchis, or link boys, who earry the oil in long narrow-necked vessels of iron or brass.

Still deeper in the square is the third tent, smaller than those I have spoken of, called Kaluet-kane, the retired spot, or the place of the privy council. To this tent none but the principal ministers of state have access, and it is here that all the important concerns of the kingdom are transacted.

Advancing beyond the Kaluet-kane, you come to the King's private tents, which are surrounded by small kannes, of the height of a man, some lined with Maslipatam chintz, painted over with flowers of a hundred different kinds, and others with figured satin, decorated with deep silken fringes.

Adjoining the royal tents are those of the Beguns, or Princesses, and of the great ladies and principal female attendants of the Scraglio. These tents are also enclosed on every side by rich kanates; and in the midst of them are the tents of the inferior female domestics and other women connected with the Scraglio, placed generally in much the same order, according to the offices of the respective occupants.

¹ The ghunl-hidne, or bath-room, at that period the name given to the private apartment in the Mogul's palace. See p. 265, footnote 5.

The Am-kas, and the five or six other principal tents, are elevated above the rest, as well for the sake of keeping off the heat as that they may be distinguished at a distance. The outside is covered with a strong and coarse red cloth, ornamented with large and variegated stripes; but the inside is lined with beautiful hand-painted chintz, manufactured for the purpose at Maslipalam, the ornamentation of which is set off by rich figured satin of various colours, or embroideries of silk, silver, and gold, with deep and elegant fringes. Cotton mats, three or four inches in thickness, are spread over the whole floor, and these again are covered with a splendid carpet, on which are placed large square brocade cushions to lean upon. The tents are supported by painted and gilt pillars.

In each of the two tents wherein the King and nobility meet for deliberation is creeted a stage,2 which is most sumptuously adorned, and the King gives audience under a spacious canopy of velvet or flowered silk. The other tents have similar canopies, and they also contain what are called karguair or cabinets, the little doors of which are secured with silver pudlocks.2 You may form some idea of them by pleturing to yourself two small squares of our folding screens, the one placed on the other, and both tied round with a silken cord in such a manner that the extremities of the sides of the upper square incline towards each other so as to form a kind of dome. There is this difference, however, between the karguais and our screens, that all their sides are composed of very thin and light deal boards painted and gilt on the outside, and embellished around with gold and silk fringe. The inside is lined with scarlet, flowered satin, or brocade.

I believe that I have omitted nothing of consequence contained within the great square.

Fathpile Sikri, near Agra. * See p. 359-

The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet sackcloth, tied to the walls with silk tape. — Sin. p. 54-2 Such a stage or raised platform may still be seen in the rains of

In describing what is to be seen without, I shall first notice two handsome tents on either side of the grand entrance, or royal gate, I Here is to be seen a small number of the choicest horses, saddled and superbly caparisoned, ready to be mounted upon any emergency, but intended rather for ceremony and parade. I

On both sides of the same royal gate are ranged the fifty or sixty small field-pieces of which the stirrup-artillery is composed, and which fire a salute when the King enters his tent, by which the army is apprised of his arrival.

A free space, as extensive as may be convenient or practicable, is always kept in front of the royal entrance, and at its extremity there is a large tent-called Nagar-kané,^a because it contains the trumpets and the cymbals.

Close to this tent is another of a large size, called tchanky-kane, where the Omrahs in rotation mount guard for twenty-four hours, once every week. Most of them, however, order one of their own tents to be pitched in its immediate vicinity, where they find themselves more comfortable and are in greater privacy.

Within a short distance of the three other sides of the great square are the tents of officers and others appro-

4 Among them were two horses for the Emperor's own use, also courier horses.

4 Chaudi-baland, the first part of which has passed into English

alang, as the name for a prison.

'From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties, as also from a regard to general efficiency. His Majesty pays much attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a solitable reprimand.'—Ain, p. 257.

A The grand entrance was usually at the eastern end of the camp enclosure.

^{*} Property Nakirak khinak, the nakarah was a mouster kentiedrum. Some were as high as four feet, resting on the ground and played upon by one man with a pair of aticks. In each nakarah khinah, there were twenty pairs, more or less, of these instruments, together with trumpets and horns of various shapes, and cymbals (sauj) of which three pairs were used. See p. 260, footnote 1.

printed to particular purposes, which, unless there be local impediments, are always placed in the same relative situation. Every one of these tents has its particular appellation, but the names are difficult of promunciation, and as it is not within my scope to teach you the language of the country, it may suffice to state that in one of them are deposited the arms of the King; in a second the rich harnesses; and in a third the vests of brocade, which are the presents generally made by the King. The fruits, the sweetments, the Ganges water, the saltpetre with which it is cooled, and the belle, are kept in four other tents. Belle is the leaf (of which I have spoken elsewhere 1) which, after it has undergone a certain preparation, is given as a mark of royal favour (like coffee 2 in Turkey), and which when musticated sweetens the breath and reddens the lips. There are lifteen or sixteen other tents which serve for kitchens and their apportenances; and in the midst of all these are the tents of a great number of officers and cunuchs. There are, lastly, six others, of considerable length, for led horses; and other tents for choice elephants and for the animals employed in hunting; for the birds of prey that invariably accompany the court, and are intended both for show, and for field sports; for the dogs; the leopards for catching antelopes; the nil-ghaux, or grey oxen, which I believe to be a species of cik; the lions and the rhinoceroses, brought merely for parade; the large Bengale buffaloes, which attack the lion, the tamed antelopes, frequently made to fight in the presence of the King.

The quarters of the Monarch are understood to compre-

² See p. 13.

⁵ Acute in the original, as previously used, spelt cauvé, by Bernier, see p. 202. In Arabic butters. Most of the early writers who mention this beverage employ similar derivatives, such as 'Caova,' 'Cahoa,' and 'Chaooa.'

The Hindostance name is nilgan, or 'blue cow,' and is the popular name of the well-known large antelope common over the greater portion of Northern India, the Portar pictus of Ierdon.

hend not only the great square, but the numerous tents situated without the square, to which I have just drawn your attention. Their position is always in the centre of the army, or as much so as the nature of the ground will admit. You will easily conceive that there is something very striking and magnificent in these royal quarters, and that this vast assemblage of red tents, placed in the centre of a numerous army, produces a brilliant effect when seen from some neighbouring eminence; especially if the country be open, and offer no obstruction to the usual and regular

distribution of the troops.1

The first care of the Grand Quarter-master is, as before remarked, to choose a suitable situation for the royal tents. The Am-kns is elevated above every other tent, because it is the landmark by which the order and disposition of the whole army is regulated. He then marks out the royal bazars, from which all the troops are supplied. The principal bazar is laid out in the form of a wide street, running through the whole extent of the army, now on the right, then on the left of the Am-kas, and always as much as possible in the direction of the next day's encampment. The other royal bazars, which are neither so long nor so spacious, generally cross this one, some on one side and some on another side of the King's quarters. All of them are distinguished by extremely long poles [esmes tres-hautes] stuck in the ground at the distance of three hundred paces from each other, bearing red standards, and surmounted with the tails of the Great Tibet cows, which have the appearance of so many periwigs.

The quarter-master then proceeds to plan the quarters for the Omraks, that there may always be the same

³ Bernier's minute description of an Imperial camp is very correct, as may be seen by referring to the plan of one, plate iv., in vol. i. of the late Professor Blochmann's translation of the stand-Addard.

³ Le grand Maréchal des Logis, the Mis-manzil of the Ain.

A somewhat similar practice obtains at the present day in many of the regimental baseaux in our cantonments in India.

^{&#}x27;The tails of the Great Thibet cows' are the yak tails still largely

observance of regularity, and that each nobleman may be placed at his usual distance from the royal square, whether on the right or on the left, so that no individual may be permitted to change the place allotted to him, or which he expressed a wish to occupy before the commencement of the expedition.

The description I have given of the great square is, in many particulars, applicable to the quarters of the Omrahs and Rojas. In general they also have two peiche-kanic, with a square of kanates enclosing their principal tents and those of their wives. Outside this square are likewise pitched the tents of their officers and troopers, and there is a basar in the form of a street, consisting of small tents belonging to the followers of the army, who supply it with forage, rice, batter, and other necessary articles of life. The Omrahs need not, therefore, always have recourse to the royal basars, where indeed everything may be procured, almost the same as in the capital. A long pole is planted at both ends of each bacar, and distinguished by a particular standard, floating in the air, as high as those of the royal basars, in order that the different quarters may be readily discerned from a distance.

The chief Omrahs and great Rojas pride themselves on the loftiness of their tents, which must not, however, be too conspicuous, lest the King perceive it and command that the tents be thrown down, as he did on our late march. For the same reason, the outside must not be entirely red, there being none but the royal tents that can be of that colour; ¹ and as a mark of proper respect every tent has also to front the Am-kas, or quarters of the King.

The remainder of the ground, between the quarters of the Monarch, those of the Omrahs, and the bazars, is filled with the tents of Manselslars, or inferior Omrahs, of used in India by Rájás, Nawabs and others, as ily flappers, or, monated with silver in the hands of running footmen, etc., as marks of dignity; see p. 261. The cannes tris hands of the original might be translated 'tall hamboos,' of which such flag-staffs are generally made at the present day.

1 See p. 262.

tradespeople of every description, of civil officers and other persons, who for various reasons follow the army; and, last of all, the tents of those who serve in the light and heavy artillery. The tents are therefore very numerous, and cover a large extent of ground; though with respect both to their number and the space occupied by them very extravagant notions are formed. the army halts in a fine and favourable country, which leaves it at liberty to adopt the well-understood rules and order of a circular encampment, I do not believe that this space measures more than two leagues, or perhaps two leagues and a half in circumference, including here and there several spots of unoccupied ground. It should be mentioned, however, that the heavy artillery, which requires a great deal of room, is commonly a day or two in advance of the army.

What is said of the strange confusion that prevails in the camp, and of the alarm thereby occasioned to a newcomer, is also much exaggerated. A slight acquaintance with the method observed in the quartering of the troops will enable you to go, without much difficulty, from place to place as your business may require; the King's quarters, the tents and standards peculiar to every Omruh, and the ensigns and 'periwigs' of the royal bazars, which are all seen from a great distance, serving, after a little experience, for unerring guides.

Sometimes, indeed, notwithstanding all these precautions, there will be uncertainty and disorder, particularly on the arrival of the army at the place of encampment in the morning, when every one is actively employed in finding and establishing his own quarters. The dust that arises often obscures the marks I have mentioned, and it becomes impossible to distinguish the King's quarter,

¹ The 'hiers' of Bernier's narrative may be taken as 2½ miles. The actual ilease de posts of France was equal to 2 miles and 743 yards. Dr. Ball, in his edition of Travernier's Travels, takes the case as equal to the French liens. The cost (kins) in Northern India measured in Bernier's time 2 miles, 4 furlouge, 158 yards. See p. 284, footnote ².

the different bazars, or the tents of the several Osirahs. Your progress is besides liable to be impeded by the tents then pitching, and by the cords extended by inferior Omraks, who have no peiche-kanes, and by Mausebdars to mark their respective boundaries, and to prevent not only the public path from passing through, but the fixing of any strange tent near their own, where their wives, if accompanying them, reside. A horde of their lusty varlets, with cudgels 1 in their hands, will not suffer these cords to be removed or lowered; you then naturally retrace your steps, and find that while you have been employed in unavailing efforts to pass at one end, your retreat has been cut off at the other. There is now no means of extricating your laden camels but by menace and entreaty; outrageous passion, and calm remonstrance; seeming as if you would proceed to blows, yet carefully abstaining from touching any one; promoting a violent quarrel between the servants of both parties, and afterward reconciling them for fear of the consequences, and in this way taking advantage of a favourable moment to pass your camels. . But the greatest annoyance is perhaps in the evening when business calls you to any distance. This is the time when the common people cook their victuals with a fire made of cow and camel dung and green wood. The smoke of so many fires of this kind, when there is little wind, is highly offensive, and involves the atmosphere in total darkness. It was my fate to be overtaken three or four times by this wide-spreading vapour.2 I inquired, but could not find my way: I turned and roamed about, ignorant whither I went. Once I was obliged to stop until the smoke dispersed, and the moon arose; and at another time I with difficulty reached the aguacy-dié, at the foot of which I passed the night with my horse and

In the original grat bitens, the well-known chankidars' lathi (watchmen's bamboo club) of that and the present period.

All those who have been out in camp in the cold weather in Northern India will be able to testify to the truth of this vivid picture of a common experience.

servant.¹ The aguacy-dié resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed toward the King's quarters, near the tent called nagar-kané, and during the night has a lighted lantern suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name aguacy-dié may be translated Light of Heaven, the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star.²

To prevent robberies every Omrah provides watchmen, who continually perambulate his particular quarters during the night, crying out Kaber-dar! or, Have a care! and there are guards posted round the whole army at every five hundred paces, who kindle fires, and also cry out Kaber-dar! Besides these precautions, the Cotoüal, or Grand Provost, sends soldiers in every direction, who especially pervade the bazars, crying out and sounding a trumpet. Notwithstanding all these measures, robberies are often committed, and it is prudent to be always on the alert; not to rely too much on the vigilance of servants; and to repose at an early hour, so as to watch during the remainder of the night.

I will now proceed to describe the different modes of travelling adopted by the Great Mogol on these occasions.

¹ The sais or groom, who in India on such occasions follows close behind his master.

² The Akisdiah, from dkds, sky, and diah, lamp, was a great feature in the Imperial camp. 'In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from afar, His Majesty has caused to be erected in front of the Durbár a pole upwards of forty yards high, which is supported by sixteen ropes; and on the top of the pole is a large lantern which they call Akisdiah. Its light is seen from great distances, guides the soldiers to the Imperial camp, and helps them to find their tents. In former times, before the lamp was erected, the men had to suffer hardships from not being able to find the road.'—Ain, pp. 49-50.

³ See p. 188, footnote ¹.

Most commonly he is carried on men's shoulders in a tact-ravan, t or field throne, wherein he sits. This tact is a species of magnificent tabernacle, with painted and gilt pillars and glass windows, that are kept shut when the weather is bad. The four poles of this litter are covered either with scarlet or brocade, and decorated with deep fringes of silk and gold. At the end of each pole are stationed two strong and handsomely dressed men, who are relieved by eight other men constantly in attendance. Sometimes the King rides on horseback, especially when the weather is favourable for hunting; and at other times he is carried by an elephant in a middember, or in a house. which is by far the most striking and splendid style of travelling, as nothing can surpass the richness and magnificence of the harness and trappings. The mikdember is a small house, or square wooden tower, gilt and painted;2 and the hours," an oval chair with a canopy on pillars, also superbly decorated with colours and gold.

In every march the King is accompanied by a great number of Omrahs and Rajas, who follow him closely on horseback, placing themselves promiscuously in a body, without much method or regularity. On the morning of a journey, they assemble at break of day in the Am-kas, with the exception of those who may be exempted by age or the nature of their office. They find these marches very fatiguing, especially on hunting-days, being exposed like a private soldier to the sun and dust, frequently until three o'clock in the afternoon.

These luxurious lords move along very differently when not in the train of the King: neither dust nor sun then annoys them, but they are stretched, as on a bed, in a

¹ Takht-i ramida, see p. 108.

^{*} They also put comfortable turrets on the backs of swift-paced elephants, which serve as a travelling sleeping apartment. — Air., p. 111.

^{*} Similar to the modern bowdah (a Hindostanee word modified from the Arabic kandaj), but with a canopy.

palcky, closed and covered or not as may be found more agreeable; sleeping at case until they reach their tent, where they are sure to find an excellent dinner, the kitchen and every necessary article having been sent forward the preceding night, immediately after supper. The Omrahs are always surrounded by a number of well-mounted cavaliers, called gourze-berdars, because they carry a kind of club, or silver mace. The King is also attended by many of them, who go before him, both on the right and on the left, together with a multitude of footmen. The gourze-berdars are picked, good-looking men, of fine figures, and are employed to convey orders and despatches. With great sticks in their hands they drive everybody before them, and keep the way clear for the King.

The Cours follow the Rajahs surrounded by a large number of players on cymbals and trumpets. The Cours, as I before observed,² consists of figures in silver, representing strange animals, hands, balances, fishes and other mystical objects, borne at the end of large silver poles.

A numerous body of Mansebdars or inferior Omraha comes next, well mounted, and equipped with sword, quiver, and arrows. This body is much more numerous than that of Omrahs, which follows the King; because not only the Mansebdars who are on duty are obliged to assemble at break of day near the royal tent, for the purpose of accompanying the King, but there are many who join the train in the hope of attracting notice and obtaining preferment.

The Princesses and great ladies of the Seraglio have also different modes of travelling. Some prefer tchandoules,⁴ which are borne on men's shoulders, and are not unlike the tact-ravans. They are gilt and painted and covered with magnificent silk nets of many colours, enriched with

¹ See p. 263, footnote 1,

⁸ See p. 266. The two corresponded in some respects to the colours of a regiment, it had a special goard assigned to it, and was saluted on various occasions.

³ Bernier has omitted to mention the bow and shield which also formed part of their equipment. * Chandels.

embroidery, fringes, and beautiful tassels. Others travel in a stately and close paleky, gilt and covered, over which are also expanded similar silk nets. Some again use capacious litters, suspended between two powerful camels, or between two small elephants. It is in this style I have sometimes seen Rauchenara-Begum pursuing her journey, and have observed more than once in front of the litter, which was open, a young, well-dressed female slave, with a peacock's tail in her hand, brushing away the dust, and keeping off the flies from the Princess. The ladies are not unfrequently carried on the backs of elephants, which upon these occasions wear massive bells of silver, and are decked with costly trappings, curiously embroidered. These lovely and distinguished females, seated in Mikdembers, are thus elevated above the earth, like so many superior beings borne along through the middle region of the air. Each Mikdember contains eight women, four on a side: it is latticed and covered with a silken net, and yields not in richness and splendour to the tehandoule or the tact-ravan.

I cannot avoid dwelling on this pompous procession of the Seraglio. It strongly arrested my attention during the late march, and I feel delight in recalling it to my memory. Stretch imagination to its utmost limits, and you can conceive no exhibition more grand and imposing than when Rauchenara-Begum, mounted on a stupendous Pegu elephant, and seated in a Mikdember,1 blazing with gold and azure, is followed by five or six other elephants with Mikdembers nearly as resplendent as her own, and filled with ladies attached to her household. Close to the Princess are the chief eunuclis, richly adorned and finely mounted, each with a wand of office in his hand; and surrounding her elephant, a troop of female servants, Tartors and Kachmerys, fantastically attired and riding handsome padhorses. Besides these attendants are several cunuchs on horschack, accompanied by a multitude of Pagys,2 or

¹ For meldambar,

The Portuguese word pole, from pl, foot, and meaning a footman,

lackeys on foot, with large canes, who advance a great way before the Princess, both to the right and to the left, for the purpose of clearing the road and driving before them every intruder. Immediately behind Rauchenara-Begum's retinue appears a principal lady of the court, mounted and attended much in the same manuer as the Princess. This lady is followed by a third, she by a fourth, and so on. until fifteen or sixteen females of quality pass with a grandeur of appearance, equipage, and retinue more or less proportionate to their rank, pay, and office. There is something very impressive of state and royalty in the march of these sixty or more elephants; in their solemn and, as it were, measured steps; in the splendour of the Mikdembers, and the brilliant and innumerable followers in attendance: and if I had not regarded this display of magnificence with a sort of philosophical indifference, I should have been apt to be carried away by such flights of imagination as inspire most of the Indian poets, when they represent the elephants as conveying so many goddesses concealed from the vulgar gaze.

Truly, it is with difficulty that these ladies can be approached, and they are almost inaccessible to the sight of man. Woe to any unlucky cavalier, however exalted in rank, who, meeting the procession, is found too near. Nothing can exceed the insolence of the tribes of canucha and footmen which he has to encounter, and they eagerly avail themselves of any such opportunity to beat a man in the most unmerciful manner. I shall not easily forget being once surprised in a similar situation, and how narrowly I escaped the cruel treatment that many cavaliers have experienced; but determined not to suffer myself to be beaten and perhaps malmed without a struggle, I drew my sword, and having fortunately a strong and spirited horse.

Anglicised into peon; also the Hindostanee word piy-tila, also meaning a footman. Scotice, padas (Latin, patisaques), a footboy; Wm. Gray, Pedec to one Smith in the Rebel Life Guards. —List of Rebels in 1745, p. 275. Scot. Hist. Soc., 1890.

I was enabled to open a passage, sword in hand, through a host of assailants, and to dash across the rapid stream which was before me. It is indeed a proverbial observation in these armies that three things are to be carefully avoided: the first, getting among the choice and led horses, where kicking abounds; the second, intruding on the hunting ground; and the third, a too near approach to the ladies of the Seraglio. It is much worse, however, in Persia. I understand that in that country life itself is forfeited if a man be within sight even of the eunuchs, although he should be half a league distant from the women; and all the male inhabitants of the towns and villages through which the Seraglio is to pass must abandon their homes and fly to a considerable distance.

I shall now speak of the field sports of the King.1 1

1 'Superficial, worldly observers see in killing an animal a sort of pleasure, and in their ignorance stride about, as if senseless, on the field of their passions. But deep inquirers see in hunting a means of acquisition of knowledge, and the temple of their worship derives from it a peculiar lustre. This is the case with His Majesty. He always makes hunting a means of increasing his knowledge, and besides, uses hunting parties as occasions to inquire, without having first given notice of his coming, into the condition of the people and the army. He travels incognito, and examines into matters referring to taxation, or to Sayurghal lands, or to affairs connected with the household. He lifts up such as are oppressed, and punishes the oppressors. account of these higher reasons His Majesty indulges in the chase, and shews himself quite enamoured of it. Short-sighted and shallow observers think that His Majesty has no other object in view but hunting; but the wise and experienced know that he pursues higher aims.' -Ain, p. 282. Sayúrghál lands were those which had been given for benevolent purposes of various kinds. One of the classes of men on whom they were bestowed were 'inquirers after wisdom, who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and daytime in searching after true knowledge. - Am, p. 268. An early example of 'endowments for research,' in fact. Such lands were hereditary, and differed for this reason from Jagir lands, which were conferred for a specified time, and to which Bernier alludes at p. 213. Akbar, however, considerably interfered with these Sayurghal lands, arbitrarily resuming many of them and increasing his domain lands to the ruin of many a family.

could never conceive how the Great Mogol could hunt with an army of one hundred thousand men; but there certainly is a sense in which he may be said to hunt with two hundred thousand, or with any number of which his army may consist.

In the neighbourhoods of Agra and Dehli, along the course of the Genna, reaching to the mountains, and even on both sides of the road leading to Lakor, there is a large quantity of uncultivated land, covered either with copse wood or with grasses six feet high. All this land is guarded with the utmost vigilance; and excepting partridges, quails, and hares, which the natives catch with nets, no person, be he who he may, is permitted to disturb the game, which is consequently very abundant.

Whenever the Monarch is about to take the field, every gamekeeper [Gardes Chasses] near whose district the army is to pass is called upon to apprise the Grand Master of the Hunt of the various sorts of game under his particular charge, and of the places where they are in the greatest plenty. Sentries are then stationed at the different roads of that district, to guard the tract of ground selected, which extends sometimes four or five leagues; and while the army is on its march, on one side or the other, so as to avoid that tract, the King enters it with as many Omrahs and other persons as have liberty to do so, and enjoys, leisurely and uninterruptedly, the sports of the field, varying them according to the nature of the game.

I shall, in the first place, describe the manner in which they chase antelopes with tame leopards.¹

The lyns, the Hindostaner name for which, from the l'eraian, is ay dagorà, or 'black car,' was also employed in the chase by the Mogul

The cheetah or hunting leopard is still largely employed, chiefly in the Native States of India, for the sport described by Bernier. In the still there is a story told of how once, 'from the kindness shown by Hia Majesty, a deer made friendship with a leopard. They lived together and enjoyed each other's company. The most remarkable thing was this, that the leopard when let off against other deer would pounce upon them as any other leopard.'

I think that I have elsewhere told you that there are in the Indies large numbers of antelopes, very much resembling our fawns in shape; that they move generally in herds; and that every herd, which is never composed of more than five or six, is followed by a male, who is easily distinguished by his colour. When one of these little troops is discovered, the first step is to have it seen by the leopard, who is kept chained on a small car.1 The sagacious and cunning animal does not, as might be expected, run at once towards the antelopes, but winds about, hides himself, crouches, and in this cautious manner approaches them unperceived, so as to give himself a fair chance of catching them with those five or six bounds, which the leopard is noted for making with incredible agility. If successful, he gluts himself with their blood, heart, and liver! but if he miss his prey, as frequently happens, he makes no other effort, but stands perfectly still. It would indeed be useless to contend with these animals in a fair race, for they run much more fleetly and much longer than the leopard. His keeper finds no great difficulty in securing him again on the car; he approaches him quietly,

Emperors. 'His Majesty is very fond of using this plucky little animal for hunting purposes. In former times it would attack a hare or a fox; but now it kills black buck.'-Ain, p. 290. Capt. Alexander Hamilton, in his New Account of the East Indies, Edinburgh, 1727, 2 vols. Svo, gives (vol. i. p. 124) an exceedingly quaint and graphic description of this mode of hunting, as follows: 'Deer, Antelopes, Hares, and Foxes are their wild Game, which they hunt with Dogs, Leopards, and a small fierce Creature, called by them a Shoegvose. It is about the Size of a Fox, with long prickt Ears like an Hare, and a Face like a Cat, a gray Back and Sides, and Belly and Breast white. I believe they are rare, for I never saw more than one. When they are taken out to hunt an Horseman carries it behind him hood-winkt, and their Deer and Antelopes, being pretty familiar, will not start before horses come very near. He who carries the Shoegoose, takes off the Hood, and shews it the Game, which, with large swift Springs, it soon overtakes, and leaping on their Backs, and getting forward to the Shoulders, scratches their Eyes out, and gives the Hunters an easy 1 Technically called a sagar. prev.'

caresses him, throws down a few pieces of flesh, and, covering his eyes, fastens his chain. During the march, one of these leopards very unexpectedly afforded us this amusement, to the no small consternation, however, of many of us. A troop of antelopes ran through the midst of the army, as was indeed the case every day; but these happened to pass very close to two leopards who were placed as usual on their car. One, whose eyes were not covered, made so violent an effort as to break his chain, and rush after the antelopes, but without catching any. Impeded, however, in their flight, turned and pursued on all sides, one of them could not avoid again approaching the leopard, who pounced upon and seized the poor animal, notwithstanding the crowds of camels and horses that were in his way, and contrary to the common opinion that the leopard never attacks the prey which he has once missed.

There is nothing very interesting in the mode of hunting the nil-ghaux, or grey oxen; which, as I before stated, are a species of elk. They enclose them in great nets, which are drawn closer by degrees; and, when the space is reduced to a small compass, the King enters with his Omrahs and huntsmen, and the animal is killed with arrows, short spikes, swords, and musketoons. Sometimes these animals are slaughtered in such numbers that the King sends quarters of them as presents to all the Omrahs.

It is curious enough to observe the manner in which cranes are caught. Their courageous defence in the air against the birds of prey affords much sport. Sometimes they kill their assailants; but from the slowness of their movements in wheeling round they are overcome as the number of their enemies increases.

¹ See p. 364. The nilgan has a heavy shambling pace, and at the present day it is not considered quite sportsmanlike to shoot them.

² Hawks, of which several kinds were used. ³ His Majesty, from motives of generosity and from a wish to add splendour to his Court, is fond of hunting with falcons, though superficial observers think that merely hunting is his object. —Ain, p. 294.

But of all the diversions of the field the hunting of the lion 1 is not only the most perilous, but is peculiarly royal: for, except by special permission, the King and Princes are the only persons who engage in the sport. As a preliminary step, an ass is tied near the spot where the gamekeepers have ascertained the lion retires. The wretched animal is soon devoured, and after so ample a meal the lion never seeks for other prey, but without molesting either oxen, sheep, or shepherds, goes in quest of water, and after quenching his thirst, returns to his former place of retirement. He sleeps until the next morning, when he finds and devours another ass, which the gamekeepers have brought to the same spot. In this way they contrive, during several days, to allure the lion and to attach him to one place; and when information is received of the King's approach, they fasten at the spot an ass where so many others have been sacrificed, down whose throat a large quantity of opium has been forced. This last meal is of course intended to produce a soporific effect upon the lion. The next operation is to spread, by means of the peasantry of the adjacent villages, large nets, made on purpose, which are gradually drawn closer, in the manner practised in hunting the nil-ghaux. Everything being in this state of preparation, the King appears on an elephant protected in places with thin plates of iron, and attended by the Grand Master of the Hunt, some Omruhs mounted on elephants, and a great number both of gourzeberdars on horseback and of gamekeepers on foot, armed with half-piker. He immediately approaches the net on the outside, and fires at the lion with a large musketoon. The wounded animal makes a spring at the elephant, according to the invariable practice of lions, but is arrested by the net; and the King continues to discharge his musketoon, until the lion is at length killed.

It happened, however, during the last hunt, that the

Except in Kathlawar lious are now never met with in any part of India.
See pp. 182-183.

enraged animal leaped over the net, rushed upon a trooper whose horse he killed, and then effected his escape for a time. Being pursued by the huntsmen, he was at length found and again enclosed in nets. The whole army was on that occasion subjected to great inconveniencies and thrown into a considerable degree of confusion. We remained three or four days patrolling in a country intersected with torrents from the mountains, and covered with underwood, and long grass that nearly concealed the camels. No bazars had been formed and there were no towns or villages near the army. Happy those who during this scene of disorder could satisfy the cravings of hunger! Shall I explain the weighty reason of this long detention in such abominable quarters? You must know, then, that as it is considered a favourable omen when the King kills a lion, so is the escape of that animal portentous of infinite evil to the state. Accordingly, the termination of the hunt is attended with much grave ceremony. The King being seated in the general assembly of the Ownaha, the dead lion is brought before him, and when the carcass has been accurately measured and minutely examined, it is recorded in the royal archives that such a King on such a day slew a lion of such a size and of such a skin, whose teeth were of such a length, and whose claws were of such dimensions.1 and so on down to the minutest details.

Let me just add a word on the subject of the opium given to the ass. One of the principal huntsmen assures me that it is a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion is suffi-

The Emperor Akbar, who was a great sportsman, caused not only an account to be kept of the game he shot, but ordered that particulars of the game used should also be recorded. Jáhángir inherited his father's love of sport, except that he never hunted elephants nor did he care for shooting waterfowl. In his Monarri he gives many details of his hunting exploits, and tells us how he caused the officials of the Hunting Department to draw up a 'game book' embracing his life from the age of twelve to Sifty. This list tells us that during these years be shot 17,167 head of game of all kinds, including 86 tigers, 41 sparrows, 3276 crows (!), and 10 alligators.

ciently disposed to sleep without it when he has eaten to satiety.

I observed that the great rivers are commonly without bridges. The army crossed them by means of two bridges of boats, constructed with tolerable skill, and placed between two or three hundred paces apart. Earth and straw mingled together are thrown upon the planking forming the footway, to prevent the cattle from slipping. The greatest confusion and danger occur at the extremities; for not only does the crowd and pressure occur most there, but when the approaches to the bridge are composed of soft moving earth, they become so broken up and so full of pits, that horses and laden oxen tumble upon one another into them, and the people pass over the struggling animals in the utmost disorder. The avil would be much increased if the army were under the necessity of crossing in one day; but the King generally fixes his camp about half a league from the bridges of boats, and suffers a day or two to clapse ere he passes to the opposite side of the river; when, pitching his tents within half a league from the bank, he again delays his departure so as to allow the army three days and nights at least to effect the passage.

As to the number of people, whether soldiers or others, which the camp contains, it is not easy to determine this accurately; so various are the opinions on this point. I may venture, however, to state generally that in this march there are at least one hundred thousand horsemen, and more than one hundred and fifty thousand animals, comprising horses, mules, and elephants; that besides these, there cannot be much less than fifty thousand camels, and nearly as many oxen or horses employed to carry the wives and children, the grain and other provisions belonging to the poor people connected with the bazars, who when they travel take with them, like our gipsies, the whole of their families, goods, and chattels. The servants in the army must be indeed numerous, since nothing is done without their assistance. I

rank only with a two-horse cavalier, and yet I cannot possibly contrive with less than three men. Many are of opinion that the camp contains between three and four hundred thousand persons; some believe this estimate to be too small, while others consider it rather exaggerated. Accurately to determine the question, the people should be numbered. All I can confidently assert is that the multitude is prodigious and almost incredible. The whole population of Dehli, the capital city, is in fact collected in the camp, because deriving its employment and maintenance from the court and army, it has no alternative but to follow them in their march or to perish from want during their absence.¹

You are no doubt at a loss to conceive how so vast a number both of men and animals can be maintained in the field. The best solution of the difficulty will be found in the temperance of the Indians and simple nature of their diet. Of the five-score thousand troopers not a tenth, no not a twentieth part, eat animal food; they are satisfied with their kickery, a mess of rice and other vegetables, over which, when cooked, they pour boiled butter." It should be considered too that camels endure fatigue, hunger, and thirst in a surprising degree, live upon little, and eat any kind of food. At the end of every march, they are left to browse in the fields, where everything serves for fodder. It is important likewise to observe that the same tradesmen who supply the bazars in Dehli are compelled to furnish them in the camp; the shops of which they are composed being kept by the same persons whether in the capital or in the field.

These poor people are at great pains to procure forage; they rove about from village to village, and what they succeed in purchasing, they endeavour to sell in the army at an advanced price. It is a common practice with them to clear, with a sort of trowel, whole fields of a peculiar kind of grass, which having beaten and washed,

¹ Sec p. 220.

⁷ Ghee, see p. 438.

they dispose of in the camp at a price sometimes very

high and sometimes inadequately low.1

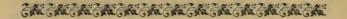
There is a curious fact respecting the King which I had almost forgotten to relate. He enters the camp sometimes on one side, sometimes on another; that is, he will to-day pass near the tents of certain Omrahs and to-morrow near the tents of others.² This variation of route is not, as you might suppose, accidental: the Omrahs, whom the Monarch honours by his vicinity, must leave their quarters to meet him, and most present His Majesty with a purse of more or less value; from twenty to fifty golden roupies, twenty being equal to about thirty pistoles, according to their liberality and the amount of their pay:

I shall say nothing of the towns and villages between Dehli and Lahor: I have in fact scarcely seen any of them My Agah's station not being in the centre of the army, which often kept to the highroud, but in the front of the right wing, it was our custom to traverse fields and bye-paths during the night, guided by the stars; frequently mistaking our way, and marching five or six leagues, instead of three or four, the usual distance between two

encampments, till daylight again set us right.

¹ The general practice at the present day throughout Northern India, 'the peculiar kind of grass' being the well-known alib (Cyradian Dactylian, Royle). On account of its creeper-like stem, a khurga, the trowel-like instrument of Bernier, is required to scrape it, as it were, from off the ground.

The nobles are encamped without on all sides according to their rank. The guards for Thursday, Friday, and Saturday encamp in the centre; those for Sunday and Monday on the right; and those for Tuesday and Wednesday on the lan. — Ain. p. 45.



THIRD LETTER

TO THE SAME

Written at Lahor the King being then about to depart for Kachemire.

Description of Lahor, the Capital of the Penje-ab, or Kingdom of the five Rivers.

MONSIEUR,

It is not without reason that the kingdom of which Lahor is the capital is named the Penje-ab, or the Region of the Five Waters; because five rivers do really descend from the great mountains which enclose the kingdom of Kachemire, and, taking their course through this country, fall into the Indus, which empties itself into the ocean at Scymdi, 1 near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Whether Lahor be the ancient Bucefalos, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here well known by the name of Sekander Filifous, or Alexander the son of Philip: concerning his horse, however, they know nothing. The river on which the city was built, one of the five, is as considerable as our Loire, and is much in want of a similar embankment as that on which the road is carried on the banks of the French river; for it is subject to inundations, which cause great injury and frequently change its bed: indeed within a few years the river has receded a full quarter of a league from Lahor, to the great inconvenience of the

¹ By this I believe Bernier to mean Sind, which was called Sinda by Fryer, the mouths of the Indus being situated in the Province of Sind.

inhabitants.1 Unlike the buildings of Dehli and Agra, the houses here are very lofty; but, the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities, most of the houses in Lakor are in a runious state.2 Indeed, many have been totally destroyed and have buried many of the inhabitants under their ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years. There are still five or six considerable streets, two or three of which exceed a league in length; but not a few of the houses in them are tumbling to the ground." The river having changed its bed, the King's palace is no longer seated on its banks.4 This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Dehli or Agra. is more than two months since we arrived in this city: we have waited for the melting of the snow on the mountains of Kachemire in order to obtain an easier passage into that country; our departure is finally fixed, however, for tomorrow, as the King quitted Lahor two days ago. I have provided myself with a nice small Kachemirs tent, which I purchased yesterday, as I was advised to do the same as others, and to proceed no further with my old tent, which is rather large and heavy. It will be difficult, they tell me, to find room for all our tents among the mountains of Kachemire, which besides are impassable to camels; so that requiring porters for our haggage, the carriage of my old tent would be too expensive. Farewell!

The Emperor Jahangir, Shih Jahan's predecessor, frequently resided at Lahore, and after his time it began to decline in population.

⁴ The old bed of the Ravee is well known to all who have visited. Lahore, and it has been proposed in recent years to divert the present stream into its old channel again.

⁵ See p. 459.

Brought about, it is said, by an embankment which Aurangesb constructed to prevent inundations, but which had the effect of so deflecting the current as to cause the river to after its course entirely.



FOURTH LETTER

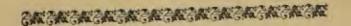
TO THE SAME

Written from the Camp of the Army marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the fourth day of the March.

MONSIEUR,

I HOPED that, as I had survived the heat of Moka near the Straits of Bab-cl-mandel, I should have nothing to fear from the burning rays of the sun in any part of the earth; but that hope has abandoned me since the army left Lakor four days ago. I am indeed no longer surprised that even the Indians themselves expressed much apprehension of the misery which awaited them during the eleven or twelve days' march of the army from Lakor to Bember,1 which is situated at the entrance of the Kachemire mountains. I declare, without the least exaggeration, that I have been reduced by the intenseness of the heat to the last extremity; searcely believing when I rose in the morning that I should outlive the day. This extraordinary heat is occasioned by the high mountains of Kachemire; for being to the north of our road, they intercept the cool breezes which would refresh us from that quarter, at the same time that they reflect the scorching sunbeams, and leave the whole country arid and suffocating. But why should I attempt to account philosophically for that which may kill me to-morrow?

¹ Bhimbhar, where the remains of one of the rest-houses built for the camps of the Mogul Emperors is still used by travellers.



FIFTH LETTER

TO THE SAME

Written from the Camp of the Army marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the sixth day of the March.

MONSIEUR,

I VESTERDAY crossed one of the great rivers of India, called the Tchenau.1 Its excellent water, with which the principal Omrahs are providing themselves, instead of the Ganges water that has hitherto supplied their wants, induces me to hope that the ascent of this river does not lead to the infernal regions, but that it may really conduct us to the kingdom of Kachenore, where they would make me believe we should be gladdened with the sight of ice and snow. Every day is found more insupportable than the preceding, and the further we advance the more does the heat increase. It is true that I crossed the bridge of boats at broad noonday, but I am not sure that my sufferings would have been less if I had remained stilling in my tent. My object was at least attained: I passed over this bridge quietly, while everybody else was resting and waiting to cross toward the close of the day, when the heat is less oppressive. Perhaps I owe my escape from some fatal accident to my prudence and foresight, for no passage of a river, since the army quitted Dehli, has been attended

The Chinab, which is nearly 72 miles from Labore by Bernier's route. He had therefore marched at the rate of about 12 miles a day.

with such dreadful confusion.1 The entrance at one extremity of the bridge into the first boat, and the going out from the last boat at the other extremity were rendered extremely difficult and dangerous on account of the loose moving sand which it was necessary to pass, and which giving way under the feet of such crowds of animals, was carried off by the current, and left considerable cavities, into which numbers of camels, oxen, and horses were thrown down, and trodden underfoot, while blows were dealt about without intermission. There are generally upon these occasions officers and troopers attached to Omrahs, who to clear the way for their masters and their baggage make an active use of their canes. My Navaab has lost one of his camels, with the iron oven it carried :2 so that I fear I shall be reduced to the necessity of eating the barar bread. Farewell!

¹ This is the largest river they had yet crossed, and the sandy approaches to the main stream were always, until a few years ago when the combined railway and road bridge was built, very tedious for travellers, whether mounted or on foot.

³ Probably one of those portable ovens, made of sheet-iron, so somiliar to all Anglo-Indians, called a tandir in Hindostanee.



TO THE SAME

Written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the eighth day of the March.

MONSIEUR,

ALAS, my dear Sir! what can induce an European to expose himself to such terrible heat, and to these harassing and perilous marches? It is too much curiosity; or rather it is gross folly and inconsiderate rushness. My life is placed in continual jeopardy. Out of evil, however, may arise some good. When at Lahor I was seized with a flux, accompanied by acute pains in my limbs, in consequence of having passed whole nights on a terrace in the open air, as is commonly done in Dehli without danger. My health was suffering; but since we have been on the march the violent perspirations, continued for eight or nine days, have dissipated my bad humours, and my parched and withered body is become a mere sleve, the quart of water, which I swallow at a draught, passing at the same moment through every one of my pores, even to my fingers' ends. I am sure that to day I have drunk more than ten pints. Amid all our sufferings, it is a great consolation to be able to drink as much water as we please with impunity, provided it be of a good quality.

366



THE SEVENTH LETTER

TO THE SAME

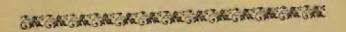
Written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, on the morning of the teuth day of the March.

MONSIEUR,

THE sun is just but rising, yet the heat is insupportable. There is not a cloud to be seen nor a breath of air to be My horses are exhausted; they have not seen a blade of green grass since we quitted Lahor. My Indian servants, notwithstanding their black, dry, and hard skin, are incapable of further exertion. The whole of my face, my feet, and my hands are flayed. My body too is entirely covered with small red blisters, which prick like needles.1 Yesterday one of our poor troopers, who was without a tent, was found dead at the foot of a tree, whither he had erept for shelter. I feel as if I should myself expire before night. All my hopes are in four or five limes still remaining for lemonade, and in a little dry cord which I am about to drink diluted with water and with sugar.2 Figaven bless you! the ink dries at the end of my pen, and the pen itself drops from my hand.

See p. 354 text, and footnote !.

¹ Prickly heat, so familiar to most Anglo-Indiana.



THE EIGHTH LETTER

TO THE SAME

Written at Bember, the entrance to the Mountains of Kachemire, after having encamped near that place for two days.

A description of Bember, we change our carriage there for that adapted to Hill travelling, incredible number of Men-Porters, and the order of March that has to be observed for five days when going through the Mountain Passes.

MONSIEUR,

At length we have reached Bember, situated at the foot of a steep, black, and scorched mountain. We are encamped in the dry bed of a considerable torrent, upon pebbles and burning sands, —a very furnace; and if a heavy shower had not fallen opportunely this morning, and I had not received from the mountains a seasonable supply of curdled milk, limes, and a fowl, I know not what would have become of your poor correspondent. But God be praised! the atmosphere is evidently cooler, my appetite is restored, my strength improved; and the first use I make of returning health is to resume my pen. You must

In the higher part of the town of Rhimbhar are the remains of the Sarai, a building about 300 feet square, where the Emperor and his personal staff used to camp. Down in the plain, close to where the present travellers' bangalow stands, was the camping ground in the sands and boulders of the Rhimbhar diver which there enters the plains, where the rest of the camp was pitched, as graphically described by Bernier.

now be made acquainted with new marches and fresh troubles.

Yesterday, at night, the King left these suffocating quarters. He was accompanied by Rauchenara-Begum and the other women of the Seraglio, the Raja Ruguat, who acts as Vizier, and Fazel-kan, the High Steward : and last night the grand master of the hunt also left the camp, with some principal officers of the royal household, and several ladies of distinction. To-night it will be our turn to depart: besides my Navaab Dauechmend-kan's family, the party will consist of Mahmet-Emir-kan, son of the celebrated Emir Jemia, of whom I have already spoken so much; of my excellent friend Dianet-kan and his two sons, and of several other Omrahs, Rajas, and Mansebdars. The other Nobles who are to visit Kachemire will depart each in his turn, to lessen the inconvenience and confusion that must attend the five days' journey between this place and Kachemire, through difficult and mountainous paths. The remainder of the court, such as Feday-kan,2 the Grand Master of the Artillery, three or four principal Rojas, and a large number of Omrahs, will continue stationed as guards. in this town and neighbourhood, during three or four months, until the great heat be over, when the King will return. Some will pitch their tents on the banks of the Tchenau, others will repair to the adjacent towns and villages, and the rest will be under the necessity of encamping in this burning Bember.

That a searcity of provisions may not be produced in the small kingdom of Kachemire, the King will be followed by a very limited number of individuals. Of females he takes only ladies of the first rank, the intimate friends of Ramchenaru-Begum, and those women whose services cannot easily be dispensed with. The Ownahr and military will also be as few as possible; and those Lords who have per-

Rájá Raghunáth.

² See p. 124, footnote 1.

⁵ Probably close to Gujrát, about 30 miles from Rhimbhar to the south-east.

mission to attend the Monarch will be accompanied by no more than twenty-five troopers out of every hundred; not, however, to the exclusion of the immediate officers of their household. These regulations cannot be evaded, an Omrah being stationed at the pass of the mountains, who reckons every person one by one, and effectually prevents the ingress of that multitude of Mausebdars and other cavaliers who are eager to inhale the pure and refreshing air of Kachemire, as well as of all those petty tradesmen and immates of the bazars, whose only object is to gain a livelihood.

The King has a few of the choicest elephants for his haggage and the women of the Seraglio. Though heavy and unwieldy, these animals are yet very sure-footed, feeling their way when the road is difficult and dangerous, and assuring themselves of the firm hold of one foot before they move another. The King has also a few mules; but his camels, which would be more useful, are all left behind, the mountains being too steep and eraggy for their long stiff legs. Porters supply the place of camels; and you may judge of the immense number that will be employed if what they tell me be true, that the King alone has no fewer than six thousand. I must myself have three, although I left my large tent and a considerable quantity of luggage at Lahor: every person did the same, not excepting the Omrahs and the King himself; and yet it is calculated that there are at least fifteen thousand porters already collected in Bember; some sent by the Governor of Kachemire and by the neighbouring Rajas, and others who are come voluntarily in the expectation of earning a little money. A royal ordinance fixes their pay at ten crowns for every hundred pounds weight. It is computed that thirty thousand will be employed; an enormous number, when it is considered that the King and Omrahs have been sending forward baggage, and the tradespeople articles of every sort, for the last month.



THE NINTH LETTER

TO THE SAME

Written in Kachemire, the Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies, after a residence there of three months.

An accurate description of the Kingdom of Kachemire, the present state of the surrounding Mountains, and replies to five important questions put by a Friend.

MONSIEUR,

The histories of the ancient Kings of Kachemire maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pire, or aged saint, named Kacheb, who miraculously cut the mountain of Baramoule. This account is to be met with in the abridgment of the above-mentioned histories.

A Rachel or Rachuf is the Persian form for Kazyapa, son of Marichi, son of Brahima, the Rishi or sage by whom, according to Hinduo tradition, the passage in question was formed.

By Haidar Malik, son of Hasan Malik B. Malik Muhammad Naji, Charvarah (also written Chadranad, a village near Srinagar) who was of a noble Kashmir family. The work in question, a history made by order of Jehan-Guyre, which I am now translating from the Persian. I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water: the same thing is reported of Thessaly and of other countries; but I cannot easily persuade myself that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very extensive and very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank into some subterraneous cavern, which was disclosed by a

Kashmir from the earliest times till its conquest by Aklmr, is mainly abridged, as stated by its author, from the Rapitarangial ("The Ocean of Kings') of Kalbana, the Royal Chronicle of Kashmir; but the Hijra dates are substituted for those of the Hindoo ere, and some additions have been made to it in the late period. The author in the preface says that he commenced the work in A.H. 1027 = 1617 A.D., in the twelfih year of Jahangir's reign, but further on A.H. 1029=1619 A.D. is mentioned as the current year; and in a very complete Ms. of this work in the British Museum (Addi. 16705) that came from the collection of William Yule, the father of the late Sir Henry Yule, an event of A.H. 1030=1620 A.D. is recorded. A portion of the Rajaturangini, which is the only piece of history in Sanskrit which has come down to us, and is believed to have been written in the 12th century A.D., was translated into Persian by command of the Sultan Zin-ul-abidin of Kashmir, who named this version the Bahr-ul-armar, or 'The Sca of Tales.' In A.H. 1003=1594 A.D., the historian Abd-ul-Kadir, Al-Baddoni was ordered by the Emperor Akhar to complete the translation, and he tells us how, during the progress of this work, the Emperor called me into his private bed-chamber to the foot of the bed, and till the morning asked for stories out of each chapter, and then mid: "Since the first volume of the Bahr-ul-asmar . , is in Archaic Persian, and difficult to understand, do you translate it afresh into ordinary language, and take care of the rough copy of the book which you have translated." I performed the samenble [kissing the ground) and heartily undertook the commission.' Pp. 415, 416 Muntubbas-ut-towarikh. Bibl. Indica Ed. : translated by W. H. Lowe, M.A. Calcutta, 1889.

All Orientalists must rejoice to know that at last there is every prospect of their possessing a satisfactory edition of the Rajdtarangini, as Dr. Aurel Stein, Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, has lately been able to occure the Codex Archetyput of all extant Kashmir sees, of that work, written in the 17th century. In the Address to the Reader prefixed to the first edition of his Travelr, Bernier promised to undertake a translation of the Persian text of Haidar Malik.

violent earthquake, not uncommon in these countries.\(^1\) If we are to believe the Arabs of those parts, the opening of Bab-el-mandel was effected in the same manner; and it is thus that entire towns and mountains have been engulphed in great lakes.

Kuchemire, however, is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many low hills: about thirty leagues in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. It is situated at the extremity of Hindoustan, to the north of Lahor; enclosed by the mountains at the foot of Caucasus, those of the Kings of Great Tibet and Little Tibet, and of the Raja Gamon, who are its most immediate neighbours.

¹ Bernier's theory has a great deal in its favour. There are authentic records of several severe and destructive exthquakes in 1552, in 1680, and one on the 26th June 1828, on which occasion, according to Vigne, who visited Kashmir in 1835, 1200 houses were shaken down and 1000 persons killed. The worst earthquake of all was that of the 30th May 1885. The shock was felt over an area of about 130,000 square miles, and its effects were destructive, to a considerable degree, over an area of about 500 square miles. It has been estimated that 20,000 houses, 30,000 cattle, and 3000 human beings were destroyed. The focus of destruction was near Daramola, where the Fort, the travellers' bungalow, and three-fourths of the houses in the town were totally wrecked.

The name used by many of the ancient geographers for a supposed continuous range from West to Esst, through the whole of Asia, embracing the Taurus Mountains of Asia Minor, the Persian Elbura, the Hindu Kush, and the Himalayas.

* Great Tibet was the name then generally applied to what is now known as Ladakh, Little Tibet—a term still applied to Baltistan.

* Rājā of Jummoo, the Rajput Rājās whose seat of rule has been established in or near the existing town of Jummoo from a remote period. Hindoo historians say for 5000 years. It was the Mahārājā Gulab Singh of Jummoo who in 1846 was able to effect the consolidation of various states, including Kushmir, into one Kingdom, over which his descendants still rule. Raja Gamen has been identified by Drew (The Jummoo and Katāmir Territorias. Lond. 1875) as the Astor Rajā, but it is difficult to concur in this identification. Which, however, Mr. Drew does not put forward as an absolute fact. It is most likely that by a typographical error Gamen has been printed instead of Games in the various editions of Bernier's Truvels.

The first mountains which surround it, I mean those nearest to the plains, are of moderate height, of the freshest verdure, decked with trees and covered with pasture land, on which cows, sheeps, goats, horses, and every kind of cattle is seen to graze. Game of various species is in great plenty,—partridges, hares, antelopes, and those animals which yield musk. Bees are also in vast abundance; and what may be considered very extraordinary in the *Indies*, there are, with few or no exceptions, neither serpents, tigers, bears, nor lions. These mountains may indeed be characterised not only as innocuous, but as flowing in rich exuberance with milk and honey.¹

Beyond the mountains just described arise others of very considerable altitude, whose summits, at all times covered with snow, soar above the clouds and ordinary mist, and, like *Mount Olympus*, are constantly bright and screne.

From the sides of all these mountains gush forth immunerable springs and streams of water, which are conducted by means of embanked earthen channels even to the top of the numerous hillocks in the valley; thereby enabling the inhabitants to irrigate their fields of rice. These waters, after separating into a thousand rivulets and producing a thousand cascades through this charming country, at length collect and form a beautiful river, avigable for vessels as large as are borne on our Scine. It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course toward Baramoulé, where it finds an outlet between two steep rocks, being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, and dashing over pre-

¹ Bears are not at all uncommon in Kashmir at the present day, two varieties of the brown or red species and a black bear. Bees are still kept by most cottagers in circular boles in the walls of their buts, especially by those living in the castern portion of the valley. Milk is 'a drug in the market,' and is excellent in quality.

These table-lands, called baremay, are a great feature in the land-scape. See p. 412, footnote.
The Jielum.

cipies it flows in the direction of Atek, and joins the Indus.

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron, and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals, and several small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our apple, pear, plum, apricot, and walnut trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of melons, pateques or water melons, water paranips, red beet, radishes, most of our potherbs, and others with which we are unacquainted.

The fruit is certainly inferior to our own, nor is it in such variety; but this I am satisfied is not attributable to the soil, but merely to the comparative ignorance of the gardeners, for they do not understand the culture and the grafting of trees as we do in France. I have caten, however, a great deal of very excellent fruit during my residence in Kachemire, and should entertain no doubt of its arriving at the same degree of perfection as that of Europe if the people were more attentive to the planting and soil of the trees and introduced grafts from foreign countries.

The capital of Kachemire bears the same name as the kingdom.2 It is without walls and is not less than three

Actions. Bernier was probably misled. The Jhelum, which leaves the valley of Kashmir at Biramúla, fulls into the Chindo near Jhang, about 100 miles above Moultan; the general direction is quite correct.

Srinagar, also known as Pravarapura, is the ancient and the present name of the city. During the rule of the Muhammadans this Hindoo name was disused, but when the Sikhs conquered Kashmir in 1819 they restored the old Hindoo name, although some Muhammadans still talk of the capital as Kashmir, or Kashur in the Kashmir, language.

quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain, distant about two leagues from the mountains, which seem to describe a semicircle, and is built on the banks of a fresh-water lake, whose circumference is from four to five leagues. This lake is formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river, which runs through the town, by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats. In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river; 2 and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well built and consist of two or three stories. There is, however, plenty of very fine freestone in the country; some old buildings, and a great number of ancient idol-temples in ruins, are of stone; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers. Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure-boat, thus communicating with the lake.

At one end of the town appears an isolated bill, with handsome houses on its declivity, each having a garden. Toward the summit are a Mosque and Hermitage, both good buildings; and the hill is crowned with a large quantity of fine trees. It forms altogether an agreeable object, and from its trees and gardens it is called, in the language of the country, Haryperbets or the Verdant Mountain.

Opposite to this hill is seen another, on which is also

¹ The Dal lake.

There are now (1891) seven bridges across the Jhelum in the city

Bari Parhat, on the top of which there is the fort built by the Emperor Akbar.

erected a small Mosque with a garden and an extremely ancient building, which bears evident marks of having been a temple for idols, although named Tuct-Souliman, the Throne of Solomon. The Mahometans pretend it was raised by that celebrated King when he visited Kachemire; but I doubt whether they could prove that this country was ever honoured with his presence.

The lake is full of islands, which are so many pleasuregrounds. They look beautiful and green in the midst of the water, being covered with fruit trees, and laid out with regular trellised walks. In general they are surrounded by the large-leafed aspec, planted at intervals of two feet. The largest of these trees may be clasped in a man's arms, but they are as high as the mast of a ship, and have only a tuft of branches at the top, like the palmtrees.

The declivities of the mountains beyond the lake are erowded with houses and flower-gardens. The air is healthful, and the situation considered most desirable: they abound with springs and streams of water, and command a delightful view of the lake, the islands, and the town.

The most beautiful of all these gardens is one belonging to the King, called *Chah-limar.*² The entrance from the lake is through a spacious canal, bordered with green turf, and running between two rows of poplars.³ Its length is about five hundred paces, and it leads to a large summerhouse placed in the middle of the garden. A second

¹ The Takht-i Suliman hill, on the top of which is a Buddhist temple, built by Jaloka, the son of Asoka, who reigned about 220 n.c. Part of it was turned into a mosque at the time of the first invasion of Kathmir by the Muhammadana, about 1015 A.D.

The Shalibmir gardens, constructed by order of the Emperor Jahangir, still retain many of the features described by Bernier. They were the Trianon of the Mogul Emperors.

² The remains of this entrance can still be traced in the shape of large blocks of suscoury, as well as the stone embankment which formerly lived the canal throughout.

canal, still finer than the first, then conducts you to another summer-house, at the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large blocks of freestone, and its sloping sides are covered with the same. In the middle is a long row of fountains, fifteen paces asunder; besides which there are here and there large circular basins, or reservoirs, out of which arise other fountains, formed into a variety of shapes and figures.¹

The summer-houses are placed in the midst of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between the two rows of large poplars planted on either side. They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up, or down, the canal, and two leading to bridges that connect the buildings with both banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre, and of four smaller spartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all the chambers are inscribed certain sentences, written in large and beautiful Persian characters.2 The four doors are extremely valuable; being composed of large stones, and supported by two beautiful pillars. The doors and pillars were found in some of the idol temples demolished by Chah-Jehan, and it is impossible to estimate their value. I cannot describe the nature of the stone, but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of marble.2

You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with Kachemire. In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority, extending its dominion over all the

The water for these fountains is obtained from a stream which rives in the hills behind the garden, and now on fete days the fountains are made to play, having been restored some years ago.

Among others, the celebrated legend, "If there he an Elyaium on earth, it is this, it is this,"

³ The material forming the pillars is believed to be a black and gray feasiliferous marble; the atone doors so longer exist.

circumjacent mountains, even as far as Tartary and over the whole of Hindoustan, to the island of Ceylon.\(^1\) It is not indeed without reason that the Mogols call Kachemire the terrestrial paradise of the Indies, or that Ekbar was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native Princes. His son Jehan-Guyre became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kuchemire.\(^2\)

I was quite prepared to witness the emulous contest between the Kachemiry and the Mogol poets. We were no sooner arrived than Aureng-Zebe received from the bards of both nations poems in praise of this favoured land, which he accepted and rewarded with kindness. They were written in a strain of extravagant hyperbole. One of them. I remember, speaking of the surrounding mountains, observed that their extraordinary height had caused the skies to retire into the vaulted form which we see; that Nature had exhausted all her skill in the creation of this country, and rendered it inaccessible to the attack of hostile force; because, being the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth, it was wise to preserve her in perfect peace and security, that she might exercise universal dominion without the possibility of ever being subject to any. The poet went on to say that the summits of the higher and more distant mountains were clothed resplendently in white, and the minor and more contiguous preserved in perpetual verdure and embellished with stately trees, because it was meet that the mistress of the kingdoms of the earth should be crowned with a diadem whose top and

Surely this may be considered as a very early argument in favour of locating the Suprema Government of India in the Hills.

² Jahangir died on the 28th October 1627, at Changas Sarai (Chingir Hatti), the Tingness hatelij of Itlaeo's map of The Empire of the Great Megal, 1655, between Rajaori and Nasabahra, three marches from Bhimbhar, when returning to Lahore.

rays were diamonds issuing from a base-work of emeralds. 'The poet' (I remarked to my Navaab Danechmend-kan, who wished me to relish these productions), 'might easily have amplified his subject. He could, with a pardonable licence, have included the neighbouring mountainous regions within the kingdom of Kachenire, since it is pretended that they were once tributary to it. I mean Little Tibet, the states of Raja Gamon, Kachguer, and Serenaguer. He might then have gone on to say that the Ganges, the Indus, the Chenau, and the Gemna, issue from the kingdom of Kachemire, rivers which cannot yield in beauty and importance to the Pison, the Gihon or the two other rivers spoken of in Genesic; and that it may therefore be reasonably concluded that the Garden of Eden was planted in Kuchemire, and not, according to the received opinion, in Armenia.

The Kachemirus are celebrated for wit, and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Iudians. In poetry and the sciences they are not inferior to the Persions. They are also very active and industrious. The workmanship and beauty of their palekys, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the Indies. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to Kachenire, and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are

¹ By this Bernier means the Srinagar in British Garhwal, then known as part of Sirneir (Sirmoor); not far from which place are the sources of the Ganges and the Jumna, Gangotri and Jamnotri. See p. 59.

about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a foot in width. The Morals and Indians, women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured; one kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of Spain; the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called tous 1) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits Great Tibet. The touz shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the Omrahs, which cost one hundred and fifty roupies; but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The fur of the beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats.

Great pains have been taken to coanufacture similar shawls in Patna, Agra, and Lahor; but notwithstanding every possible care, they never have the delicate texture and softness of the Kachemire shawls, whose unrivalled excellence may be owing to certain properties in the water of that country. The superior colours of the Maslipatan chittes or cloths, painted by the hand [peintes au pince

¹ Tite, the 'shawl goat.' By Article x. of the Treaty of the 16th March 1846, by which the British Government made over for ever, as an independent possession, the Kaahmir territory to the Maharaja Golah Singh of Jummoo, he bound himself and his heirs for ever to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and in token of such supremacy to present annually to the British Government, 'one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six males and six females), and three pair of Cashingre shawls.'

The Mogula were very anxious to introduce shawl-weaving into Hindestan, while not neglecting to encourage the indigenous industry in Kashmir. The Ain contains some very valuable information on the subject of shawls, from which the following is an extract:—

^{&#}x27;His Majesty improved this department (i.e. of the Shawls, Stuffs, etc.) in four ways. The improvement is visible, first, in the Ties shawls, which are made of the wool of an animal of that name; its

aul, whose freshness seems to improve by washing, are also ascribed to the water peculiar to that town.

The people of Kachenire are proverbial for their clear complexions and fine forms. They are as well made as Europeans, and their faces have neither the Tartar flat nose nor the small pig-eyes that distinguish the natives of Kacheguer, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols, Unquestionably there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops. When at Lahor I had recourse to a little artifice, often practised by the Mogols to obtain a sight of these hidden treasures; the women of that town being the finest brunettes in all the Indies, and justly renowned for their fine and slender shapes. I followed the steps of some elephants, particularly one righly harnessed,

natural colours are black, white, and red [brown], but chiefly black. Sometimes the colour is a pure white. This kind of shawi is unrivalled for its lightness, warmth, and softness. People generally wear it without altering its natural colour; Ills Majesty has had it dyed. It is carious that it will not take a red dye." [The second improvement was in the quality of the Alchahs (see p. 120), and the third in the gold and silver embroidered stuffs.] * Fourthly, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs; His Majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a fall dress."

. . . In formet times shawls were often brought from Kashmir. People folded them in four folds, and wore them for a very long time. Now-a-days they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulder. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double, which looks very well. His Majesty encourages in every possible way the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Labor also there are more

than a thousand workshops."

1 See pr. 3 and 212. Marco Polo bore testimony to the good looks of the Australeis, and said of the inhabitants of the country, "The men are brown and lean, but the women, taking them as bruncties,

are very beautiful."

and was sure to be gratified with the sight I was in search of, because the ladies no sooner hear the tinkling of the silver bells suspended from both sides of the elephant than they all put their heads to the windows. stratagem with which I often amused myself in Kachemire, until a more satisfactory method of seeing the fair sex was devised by an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom I read the Persian poets. I purchased a large quantity of sweetments, and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses, to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia. rich and eager to marry. As soon as we entered a house. he distributed my sweetmeats among the children, and then everybody was sure to flock around us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the twofold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many rounier out of my purse; but it left no doubt on my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kachemire as in any part of Europe.

It remains only to speak of my journey through the mountains, from Bember to this place, with which I ought perhaps to have commenced my letter;—of the little excursions I have made in the country, and finally of all which it has been in my power to collect concerning the other mountainous tracts that encircle this kingdom.

In respect then to the route from Rember I was surprised to find myself on the very first night transported on a sudden from a torrid to a temperate zone: for we had no sooner sealed that frightful wall of the world, I mean the lofty, steep, black, and bare mountain of Bember, and begun the descent on the other side, than we breathed a pure, mild, and refreshing air. What surprised me still more was to find myself, as it were, transferred from the Indies to Europe; the mountains we were traversing being covered with every one of our plants and shrubs, save the hyssop, thyme, marjoram, and rosemary. I almost imagined

myself in the mountains of Aurergne, in a forest of fir, oak, elin, and plane trees, and could not avoid feeling strongly the contrast between this scene and the burning fields of Hindonston, which I had just quitted and where nothing of the kind is seen.

My attention was particularly arrested by a mountain, distant between one and two days from Bember, covered on both sides with plants.\(^1\) The side facing the south, that is, looking toward Hindoustan, is full of Indian and European plants, mingled together; but the side exposed to the north is crowded exclusively with the vegetable productions of Europe. It would seem that one side participates equally of the air and temperature of India and Europe, and that the other feels only the milder climate of the latter quarter of the globe.\(^2\)

I could not avoid admiring, in the course of our march, the successive generation and decay of trees. I saw hundreds plunged and plunging into abysses, down which man never ventured, piled dead one upon another and mouldering with time; while others were shooting out of the ground, and supplying the places of those that were no more. I observed also trees consumed by fire; but I am unable to say whether they were struck by lightning, or ignited by friction, when hot and impetuous winds agitate the trees against each other, or whether, as the natives pretend, trees when grown old and dry may ignite spontaneously.

The magnificent cascades between the rocks increase the beauty of the scene. There is one especially which I conceive has not its parallel. I observed it at a distance

¹ Bernier here refers to the Ratan Mountains, which may be tooked upon as the first 'real inountains' met with on the Pir Panjal route. The Ratan Pir Pasa, \$200 feet above sea-level, lies between Thanna Mandi and Barangalla, the fifth and sixth stages from Bhimbhar.

³ On ascending the Pass, the heat of the sun, which is still felt there, is delightfully tempered by the bracing air, while on the Baraugalla side of the mountain the temperature of the air will be found to be very much colder than anything the traveller has yet experienced on his march from the plains.

from the side of a high mountain. A torrent of water rolling impetuously through a long and gloomy channel, covered with trees, precipitates itself suddenly down a perpendicular rock of prodigious height, and the ear is stunned with the noise occasioned by the falling of these mighty waters. Johan-Guyre erected on an adjacent rock, which was smoothed for the purpose, a large building from which the court might leisurely contemplate this stupendous work of Nature, which, as well as the trees before mentioned, bears marks of the highest antiquity, and is perhaps coeval with the creation of the world.¹

A strange accident cast a gloom over these seenes and damped all our pleasure. The King was ascending the Pire-penjale mountains, the highest of all the mountains, and from which a distant view of the kingdom of Kachemire is first obtained. He was followed by a long line of elephants, upon which sat the ladies in their mildembers and amburgs. The foremost, appalled, as is supposed, by the great length and acclivity of the path before him, stepped back upon the elephant that was moving on his track, who again pushed against the third elephant, the third against the fourth, and so on until fifteen of them, incapable of turning round or extricating themselves in a road so steep and narrow fell down the precipice. Happily for the women, the place where they fell was of no great height; only three or four were killed; but there were no means

I This is the well-known Nie-relative (meaning 'light of the eye') waterfall, which can be conveniently visited from Barangalla. A recent description of this noble fall, formed by a hope cleft in a mass of rock, bears out Bernier's description very vividly. 'The upper course of the ley torrest which feeds this fall runs through a most lovely dell, down which the stream bounds from rock to rock, rearing and splashing along as if rejoicing at the prospect of the mighty leap before it, of nearly 70 feet.'

The Pir Panjal Pass is 11,400 feet above sea-level, some of the neighbouring peaks are spwards of 16,000 feet high. It is said that on clear days the minarets of Lahore, 130 miles distant as the crow files, can be seen from the top of the Pir Panjal Pass.

of saving any of the elephants. Whenever these animals fall under the tremendous burden usually placed upon their backs, they never rise again even on a good road. Two days afterward we passed that way, 1 and I observed that some of the poor elephants still moved their trunks. The army, which had been marching four days in single file through the mountains, was subjected to serious inconvenience by this disaster. The remainder of the day and the following night, were employed in rescuing the women and in saving other matters, and the troops were under the necessity of halting during the whole of that time. Nearly every man continued pent up in the same spot, for it was impossible, in many places, to advance or recede, and the thieving varlets of porters with the tents and provisions were not within reach. My usual good fortune, however, attended me: I contrived to clamber out of the line of march and find a spot whereon I and my horse slept pretty comfortably. The servant who followed me had a small quantity of bread, which we shared. It was here, I recollect, that in stirring some stones, we found a large black scorpion, which a young Mogol of my acquaintance took up and squeezed in his hand, then in the hand of my servant, and lastly in mine, without any of us being stung. This young cavalier pretended that he had charmed the scorpion, as he had charmed many others, with a passage from the Koran; 'but I will not,' added he, 'teach you that passage, because the occult power would then depart from me and rest with you, in the same manner as it left my teacher the moment he imparted the secret.'

While traversing this same mountain of Pire-penjale, where the elephants tumbled down, three things recalled my old philosophical speculations. The first was that we ex-

¹ The place where this accident happened is believed to be close to the summit of the Pir Panjál Pass, about two miles on the Hindostan side, where there are still rather agly zig-zags in the road.

perienced the opposite scasons of summer and winter within the same hour. In ascending we were exposed to the intense heat of the sun, and perspired most profusely; but when we reached the summit, we found ourselves in the midst of frozen snow, through which a passage for the army had been recently cut; a small and congealed rain was falling, and the wind blew piercingly cold. The poor Indians, most of whom had never felt the severity of winter, and saw for the first time ice and snow, were in a state of great suffering and astonishment and fied with precipitation.

The second circumstance was, that within two hundred paces the wind blew from two opposite quarters. While climbing toward the summit it blew in my face, that is, from the north; but I no sooner began to descend on the other side than it blew on my back, that is, from the south; as if the vapours escaping from all sides, and rising to the summit of the mountain, had there condensed, and caused the wind; which, equally attracted by the warm exhausted air below, descended into the two opposite valleys.

The third extraordinary appearance was an aged hermit, who had resided on the top of this mountain ever since the time of Jehan-Guyre. Of his religion everybody was ignorant; but it was said that he wrought miracles, caused strange thunders, and raised storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain. His white and uncombed beard was extremely long

This may have been the Fukir who is buried at the top of the Pass, and whose shrine is largely visited at the present day. The Kashmiris sometimes carry up their dead from long distances and bury them close by. At the present day, a Fakir is generally to be found close to an octagonal watch-tower at the top of the Fass, who supplies travellers with milk, water, and other necessaries. The Persian word Pir means an old man or saint, and it has always been the common practice for Fakirs or Pirs to establish themselves in such positions for the sake of contemplating the works of the Creator and of receiving the alms of travellers; hence the word Pir in Kashmir has now acquired the secondary meaning of a mountain pass. Pasyall being the name of the lofty range close by, the word Pir Panjal may be translated as the Pass of the Great Range.

³ Or as Marco Polo relates concerning the people of the kingdom of

and bushy; he had somewhat of the savage in his aspect, and was haughty in his manner of asking alms. He permitted the people to drink water out of some earthen cups placed in rows on a large stone, making signs with his hand that they should not stop, but hastily leave the summit of the mountain. The old man was also very angry with those who made a noise. After I had entered his cave, and softened his countenance by means of half a roupie, which I humbly put in his hand, he informed me that noise made there stirred up the most furious tempests imaginable. It was wise in Aureng-Zêbe, he added, to be guided by his advice, and to order the army to pass with stillness and expedition. His father, Chah-Jehan, always acted with the same prudence; but Jehan-Guyre having upon one occasion derided his counsel, and, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance, having ordered the cymbals to be beaten and the trumpets to be sounded, narrowly escaped destruction.1

In regard to my excursions in different parts of this kingdom, I shall begin by informing you that we no sooner arrived in the city of *Kachemire* than my *Navaab*, *Danechmend-kan*, sent me to the further end of the country, three short journeys from the capital, that I might witness the 'wonders,' as they are called, of a certain fountain.²

Kashmír: 'They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment, inasmuch as they make their idols to speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them.'

¹ At the present day the bands of pilgrims who visit the Holy Shrines, situated in the lofty mountains of Kashmír, refrain from chanting their hymns of praise when in the vicinity of banks of snow, as on several occasions the effect of such reverberations of sound has been to dislodge avalanches, which swept away to destruction many men and women.

This is probably the sacred spring at Bawan or Matan, about 40 miles to the south-east of Srinagar. The temple was dedicated to the Sun-god (Mártand). The tank mentioned by Bernier is still greatly resorted to by the Hindoos. The water from this spring finds its way

I was accompanied by a native, and escorted by one of my Novand's troopers. The 'wonders' consist in this: in the month of May, when the melting of the snows has just taken place, this fountain, during the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and ebbs three times a day,-when the morning dawns, at noon, and at night. Its flow generally continues three quarters of an hour, and is sufficiently abundant to fill a square reservoir ten or twelve feet deep, and as many in length and breadth. After a lapse of fifteen days, the supply of water becomes less copious and regular, and at the expiration of a month the spring ceases to run, unless in the time of heavy and incessant rains, when it runs with the ebb and flow of other fountains. The Gentiles have a small temple on the side of the reservoir dedicated to Brure, one of their deities; and hence this spring is called Scad-brary, or water of Brare, Pilgrims flock from all parts to this temple, for the purpose of bathing and purifying themselves in the sacred and miraculous water. Numberless fables are founded on the origin of this fountain, which, not having a shadow of truth, would be little entertaining in the recital. The five or six days that I remained in the vicinity of Send-brary were employed in endeavours to trace the cause of the 'wonder.' I paid considerable attention to the situation of the mountain, at whose foot is found this supernatural spring. With much labour and difficulty I reached the top, leaving no part unexplored, searching and prying at every step. I remarked that its length extends from north to south, and that though very near to other mountains, yet it is completely detached from any. Its form resembles an ass's back; the summit is of extreme length, but the greatest breadth is scarcely one hundred paces. One side of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, has an eastern aspect; but the sun, being intercepted by the opposite mountains, does not shine upon it before into the Sandran river (Send-teary of Bernier?) which joins the Jhalum close to Islamabad, about 35 miles above Srinagar. 'Braze' means " goddess."

eight o clock in the morning. The western side is covered with trees and bushes.¹

Having made these observations, it occurred to me that this pretended wonder might be accounted for by the heat of the sun, combined with the peculiar situation and internal disposition of the mountain.

I supposed that the frozen waters, which during the winter, when the whole ground is covered with snow, had penetrated into the inner parts of that portion of the mountain exposed to the morning sun, became partially melted, that these waters running down, little by little, into certain beds of live rock, and being thence conveyed toward the spring, produced the flow at noon; that the sun quitting this part of the mountain (which then becomes cool) darts its vertical beams upon the summit, melting the congealed waters, which descend also by slow degrees, but through different channels, into the same beds of live rock, and are the cause of the flow at night; and finally, that the sun heating the western side of the mountain, similar effects are occasioned, and the morning flow is the consequence. That this last is slower than the others may be accounted for by the remoteness of the western side from the spring, by its being covered with wood, and therefore more sheltered from the sun, or simply by the coldness of the night. My reasoning may derive support from the fact of the water flowing most copiously during the first days, and that having gradually diminished in quantity it ceases to run altogether; as if the waters which had remained frozen in the earth were

The spring at Bawan is situated under the northern side of the harrons (the Kashmiri name for a plateau of alievial or lacustrine material) of Islamahad, which is a good specimen of the peculiar formation of the flat-topped type. Bernier has described it exactly, and it may be here stated that with reference to Bernier's remark about the irrigation of the karewas, or hillocks as he calls them (see p. 396), that extensive works in the shape of water channels have in recent years been carried out by the Kashmir Barbar (Government), with the object of bringing water from a higher level to the Islamahad karewa, the soll of which till then was and and difficult of cultivation.

in greater plenty at the commencement than afterwards. It may be observed too, that even at the beginning the supply of water as to the quantity is very uncertain, and that the flow is sometimes greater at noon than at night or in the morning, or in the morning greater than at noon; because, as I conceive, some days are botter than others, and because clouds, sometimes rendering the heat unequal, thus become the cause of inequality in the flow of water.

Returning from Send-brary, I turned a little from the high road for the sake of visiting Achievel, a country house formerly of the Kings of Kachemire and now of the Great Mogol. What principally constitutes the beauty of this place is a fountain, whose waters disperse themselves into a hundred canals round the house, which is no means unseemly, and throughout the gardens. The spring gushes out of the earth with violence, as if it issued from the bottom of some well, and the water is so abundant that it ought rather to be called a river than a fountain. It is excellent water, and cold as ice. The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks, and full of fruit-trees, -apple, pear, plum, apricot, and cherry. Jets-d'eau in various forms and fish-ponds are in great number, and there is a lofty cascade which in its fall takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable; especially at night, when immunerable larons. fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water.

From Achiavel I proceeded to another royal garden,

Achibel, which is about five miles off the high road, was one of the favourite resorts of Normahal, and the Imperial gardens with their various fountains and pavilions are still a favourite resort of visitors to Kashmir, and are occasionally used by the Malsarája, by whom they are maintained in good order.

I Vernag ('the powerful snoke') about it miles from Achibal in a direct line. A very lovely place. The gardens described by Bernier were built by Jáhángir in 1612-1619, and it is said that they were designed and laid out by his wife Núrmahal. The 'pond' containing the sacred fish is now in charge of Brahmin priests, and is the headwater or source of the river Jhelum.

embellished much in the same manner. One of its ponds contains fish so tame that they approach upon being called, or when pieces of bread are thrown into the water. The largest have gold rings, with inscriptions, through the gills, placed there, it is said, by the celebrated Nour-Mehalle, the wife of Jehan-Guyre, grandfather to Aureng-Zebe.

Dancelmend-lan seemed well satisfied with the account I brought of Send-brary, and wished me to undertake another journey, that I might bear my testimony to what hel called a real miracle [miracle assure], such a miracle as would induce me to renounce my religion and become a Muzulman. * Hasten to Baramoulay, said he; 'the distance is not greater than to Send-brary: 2 there you will see a Mosque which contains the tomb of a celebrated Pire, or Holy Derriche, who though dead yet miraculously cures the sick and infirm. Perhaps you may deny the reality either of the disease or of the cure; but another miracle is wrought by the power of this holy man, which no person can acc without acknowledging. There is a large round stone that. the strongest man can searcely raise from the ground, but which eleven men, after a prayer made to the saint, lift up with the tips of their eleven fingers with the same case as they would move a piece of straw.' I was not sorry for another little excursion, and set out with both my former companions, the trooper and the native of the country. I found Haramoulay a rather pleasant place; the Masque is a tolerable building and the Saint's tomb is richly adorned.* It was surrounded with a great number of people, engaged

¹ The Nawah desired to be able to explain satisfactorily the reason for the intermittent flow at Bawan, and thus refute, like a good Moslem, the fables of the Gentiles. Bernier's report having satisfied him, he appears to have resolved upon showing that however the Gentiles might invent stories the Moslem wooders were all genuine.

² The distance from Srinagar to Baramula, which is to the southwest, is about 32 miles by land.

^{*} See p. 409, footnote 1.

^{*} Or Ziarat (shrine), which is still to be seen, also the 'kitchen' mentioned by Bernier.

in acts of devotion, who said they were ill. Adjoining the Mosque is a kitchen, wherein I observed large boilers filled with meat and rice, which I conceived at once to be the magnet that draws the sick, and the nursele that cures them. On the other side of the mosque are the apartments and garden of the Mullaha, who pursue the even tenor of their way under the shadow of the Pire's miraculous sanctity. They are sufficiently zealous in celebrating his praises, but as I am always unhappy on similar occasions, he performed no miracle upon the sick while I remained there. As to the round and heavy stone that was to convert me. I noticed that eleven Mollaha formed themselves into a circle round it, but what with their long cabayes, I or vests, and the studied compactness of the circle, I had great difficulty to see the mode in which they held the stone. I watched narrowly, however, the whole of this cheating process, and although the Mullahs stoutly maintained that each person used only the tip of one finger, and that the stone felt as light as a feather, yet I could clearly discover that it was not raised from the ground without a great effort, and it seemed to me that the Mullahs made use of the thumb as well as of the forefinger. Still I mixed my voice with the cries of these impostors and bystanders, exclaiming Karamet ! Karamet !a miracle! a miracle! I then presented them with a roupic, and assuming a look of the deepest devotion, entreated that I might have for once the distinguished honour of being among the eleven who lifted the stone. The Mullahs were reluctant to comply with my request, but having presented them with a second roupic, and expressed my belief in the truth of the miracle, one of them gave up his place to me. No doubt they hoped that ten would be able, by an extraordinary effort, to lift the stone, although I contributed no other aid than the tip of my finger, and they expected to manage so admitly that I should not discover the imposture. But they were much mortified to

I The hald was a wadded cost or vest.

find that the stone, to which I persevered in applying the end of my finger only, was constantly inclining and falling towards me. I considered it prudent at last to hold it firmly with both my finger and thumb, when we succeeded, but with great difficulty, in raising it to the usual height. Observing that every person looked at me with an evil eye, not knowing what to think of me, and that I incurred the danger of being stoned, I continued to join in the ery of Karamet! and throwing down a third roupie, stole away from the crowd. Though I had taken no refreshment since my arrival, I did not hesitate to mount my horse directly, and to quit for ever the Deviche and his miracles. I availed myself of this opportunity to visit those celebrated rocks that form the outlet of all the waters of the kingdom, and to which I alluded at the commencement of this letter.

I was induced to quit the high road for the sake of approaching a large lake1 that I saw at some distance. It is well stocked with fish, particularly eels, and covered with ducks, wild geese, and many other water-birds. The Governor comes hither in the winter, when these birds are in greatest plenty, to enjoy the sport of fowling. In the centre of the lake is an hermitage, with its little garden, which it is pretended floats miraculously upon the water. The hermit passes the whole of his life there; he never leaves the place. I shall not fill up this letter by recounting the thousand absurd tales reported of this hermitage, except it be the tradition that one of the ancient Kings of Kachemire, out of mere fancy, built it upon a number of thick beams fastened together.2 The river which runs toward Baramoulay passes through the middle of this lake.

Leaving this lake, I went in search of a spring con-The Wular (Woolar or Voler) Lake, through which the Jachum flows.

On the 22nd September 1874, the editor of this volume was fortunate enough to discover, near the ruins of a mosque, on the Lanka Island in the Wular Lake, to which Bernier refers, a slab of black state, on which there was a Persian inscription, a subbing from which has been translated by Major H. S. Jarsett, B.S.C., as follows:—

sidered an object of curiosity.\(^1\) It bubbles gently and rises with some force, bringing with it a certain quantity of very fine sand, which returns the way it came; after which the water becomes still a moment or two without chullition and without bringing up sand, and then bubbles as before,

May this edifice be as firm as the foundations of the heavens, May it be the most renowned ornament of the universe, As long as the Monarch Zayn Ibad holds festival therein May it be like the date of his own reign,—'happy.'

The numerical value of the letters in thurram (happy) is \$47, which is the year of the Hijra it is intended to record, equivalent to A.D. 1443, 1444, during which Zayn-ûl-Ahbidin (the Zayn Ibad of the inteription, for both have the same meaning, vis., Ornament of the Advert) ruled in Kashmir.

According to tradition, in the vicinity of the Wulsr Lake once stood a city of which the Rajá was Sudrasen. By reason of the enormity of his crimes the waters of the lake rose and drowned him and his subjects. It was said that during the winter months, at low water, the rules of a submerged idal-temple might be seen rising from the lake. Zayn-ill-Aabidin constructed a spacious burge, which he sank in the lake, and upon which he laid a foundation of bricks and stones till it rose high enough to be level with the water. Upon this he erected a mosque and other buildings, and gave the islet the name of Lanka. The expense of the work was defrayed by the fortunate discovery of two idols of solid gold which had been brought up from the lake by divers. On the completion of Lanks the King ordered a great festival to be held, wherein large sums were distributed among the poor. Verses were written by the poets to commemorate this event, and among these the inscription noder notice by Ahmad Allamah, Kashmiri, was engraved upon a stone and placed on the mosque. See pp. \$4, 55, Prac. At. Soc. Bengal for 1880; also pp. 16-10 Jour. At. See. Bengul, Part 1. 1880, Notes on an interligition found upon a stone lying near the ruins of a Marjid on Lanka Island, Wular Lake, Kashmir. By Maier H. S. Jarrett, B.S.C.

Al-Endaoni alludes to the Lanks island in his Mantakhab-ut-Towardes as follows: 'Sultan Zain-ul-'abidin, whose history has been written succinctly in my abridgment of the history of Kashmir' [see p. 393, footnote '] 'had a jard- of stones thrown into the water' [of the Lake], 'and built thereon a stone throne so lofty and grand that the like of it has not been seen in all the provinces of India.'—Lowe's translation, vol. II, p. 398; Calcutta, 1884.

³ The Wular Lake is partly fed by internal springs, and there are many noted springs in the neighbourhood.

and with the same effect; thus continuing its motion at irregular intervals. But the wonder, they say, consists in this, that the least poise made, either by speaking or knocking the feet against the ground, agitates the water and causes it to run and bubble in the manner described. I discovered, however, that its movements are influenced neither by speaking nor knocking, and that its action is the same whether you make a noise or are silent. As to the real cause of the water rising in this manner, I have not reflected sufficiently upon the subject to give you a satisfactory solution; unless it be that the sand by returning continues to obstruct the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water thus opposed and closed in makes an effort to raise the sand and open a passage; or it may rather be, that the wind pent in the channel of the spring rises at intervals, as is the case in artificial springs.1

When we had sufficiently examined this fountain, we ascended the mountains, for the purpose of seeing an extensive lake, in which there is ice, even in summer, which the winds heap up and disperse, as in a frozen sea. We

¹ It is very pleasant to trace in all Bernier's explanations of natural phenomena the influence of his greater master Gassendi, of whom it has been so well said that 'the clearness of his exposition and the manner in which he, like his great contemporary Bacon, urged the necessity and utility of experimental research were of inestimable service to

the cause of science.

Probably the Gungabal Lake, about 15 miles to the northeast, as the crow flies, from the Walar Lake. A great festival is held here in Aggust attended by pilgrims from all parts of the adjacent country. There are several takes at Gungabal formed originally by the glaciers of the Haramuk Mountain, 16,903 feet high, and Sang-i-sufoid, the White Stone, may have been the Persian name given by the Mogula to these and the many other glaciers close by; or to limestone cliffs which are not far from the Gungabal take. The grotto, full of wonderful congelations, is probably the Amarinah cave where blocks of ice, stalagnites, formed by the dripping water from the roof, are worshipped, by the may Hindoos who resort here, as images of Shiva. Glaciers surround this place, which is considerably to the south-east of Gungabal.

then passed through a place called Sengrafed, that is to say, Whitestone, remarkable for producing in summer every kind of flower, the same as in a well-stored garden; and for a circumstance said to have been observed from time immemorial, that when many persons visit this spot and make much noise and agitate the air, a heavy shower of rain invariably descends. Whether this be generally the case or not, there can be no doubt that a few years ago, when Sengrafed was visited by Chah-Jehan, the whole party was in danger of periahing in consequence of the violent and extraordinary rains which fell, although he had issued orders that no unnecessary noise should be made. This fact will remind you of the aged hermit's conversation with me on the summit of Pire-penjale.

I was pursuing my journey to a grotto full of wonderful congelations, two days' journey from Sengsafed, when I received intelligence that my Namab felt very impatient and uneasy on account of my long absence.

I regret that I can give you only imperfect and scanty information concerning the surrounding mountains. The subject has much occupied my thoughts since my arrival in this country; but I can meet with no congenial mind, with no person of observation and research, who possesses much knowledge of the matters about which I wish to be informed. What I have learnt I shall, however, communicate.

The merchants who every year travel from mountain to mountain to collect the fine wool with which shawls are manufactured, all agree in saying that between all the mountains still dependent upon Kachemire there are many fine stretches of country. Among these tracts there is one whose annual tribute is paid in leather and wool, and whose women are proverbial for beauty, chastity, and industry. Beyond this tract is another whose valleys are

^{&#}x27; An oasis, not uncommon in the mountain chains of the West. A well-known example being the 'Jardin' of Mont Blanc.

² Sec p. 410.

delightful and plains fertile, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricots, excellent melons, and even grapes, with which good wine is made. The tribute of this tract is likewise paid in wool and leather,1 and it sometimes happens that the inhabitants, trusting to the inaccessible nature of the country, refuse payment; but troops always contrive to penetrate, and reduce the people to submission. I learn also from the merchants, that in the more distant mountains, which have ceased to be tributary to Kuchemire, there are other beautiful tracts and countries, where the inhabitants are white and well-formed, and remarkable for their attachment to their native land, which they seldom quit. Some of these people have no King, nor even, as far as can be discovered, any religion; though certain tribes abstain from fish, and consider it unclean.

I shall add what was related to me a few days ago by a fine old fellow, who married a descendant of the ancient kings of Kachemire. At the period when Jehan-Guyre was making a diligent search after all persons connected with the royal family, this old man effected his escape to the mountains last mentioned, accompanied by three domestics. scarcely knowing whither he was going. Wandering from place to place, he found himself at length in the midst of a small but beautiful district, where he was no sooner known than he experienced a cordial reception. happy man was laden with presents, and in the evening the handsomest girls were presented by their parents, and he was entreated to make his choice from them, that the country might be honoured with his offspring. My friend proceeded to another district in the vicinity and was received with equal kindness and respect: the evening ceremony was different, however, in one particular; as

⁴ Probably the goat-shies, tanned and coloured red, hikhi, for which there is still a great demand all over these bills, more particularly in Ladák, and Variand, where bright-coloured leathers are largely employed in the manufacture of boots, and for bridles and trappings of horses. See Cunningham's Ladák. London, 1854.

the husbands brought their wives, 1 not the fathers their daughters; observing that their neighbours were simpletons in having supplied him with the latter, because the children might not continue in their household, but must follow the footsteps of the daughters' future husbands.

Some few years since there existed great dissensions in the royal family of Little Tibet,2 a country bordering on Kachemire. One of the pretenders to the crown having applied secretly to the Governor of this kingdom for assistance, the latter was commanded by Chah-Jehan to afford all the succour he might need. The Governor accordingly invaded Little Tibet, slew or put to flight the other competitors, and left this prince in andisputed possession of the throne, subject to an annual tribute of crystal, musk, and wool. Thus circumstanced, this petty King has not well been able to avoid paying his personal obeisance to Aureng-Zebe, bringing with him some of these articles as presents; but he is come with so wretched a retinue that I should never have taken him for a person of distinguished rank. My Navaab invited this personage to dinner, hoping to obtain some information concerning those mountainous regions. He informed us that his kingdom was bounded on the east by Great Tibet; that it was thirty or forty leagues in breadth; that he was very poor, notwithstanding the crystal, musk, and wool, which be had in small quantities; and that the opinion generally entertained of his possessing gold mines was quite erroneous.

¹ The system of polyandry, strictly confined to brothers, still prevails in Ladák. ² Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three, and even four husbands, are not uncommon. This system prevails, of course, only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all Eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a pour country which does not pushage sufficient food for its inhabitants. —Cunningham's Ladák, p. 306. London, 1854.

¹ Or Baltistan, as it is now called,

The country, in certain parts, he added, 'produces excellent fruit, particularly melons, but the winters are most severe, because of the deep snows.' The inhabitants heretofore were Gentiles, but the great majority have become Mahometan, as well as himself; of the sect of the Chins, which is that of all Persia.

He spoke also of the attempt made by Chah-Jehan, seventeen or eighteen years ago, to conquer Great Tibel, a country frequently invaded by the Kings of Kachemire. The army, after a difficult march of sixteen days through the mountains, besieged and took a fortress, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation that the conquest of the kingdom would no doubt have been completed if the army had immediately crossed a certain celebrated and rapid river, and marched boldly to the capital city. The season, however, was advanced, and the governor of Kachemire, who commanded the troops, apprehending he might be overtaken by the snow, determined to retreat. placed a garrison in the fortress just captured, intending to resume the invasion of the country early in the spring; but that garrison most strangely and unexpectedly evacuated the castle, either through fear of the enemy, or from want of provisions, and Great Tibet escaped the meditated attack that had been deferred to the next spring. That kingdom being threatened with war by Aureng-Zebe, the King despatched an ambassador when informed of the Mogol's arrival in Kachemire. The emhassy was accompanied by various presents, the productions of the country; such as erystal, musk, a piece of jade,2 and those valuable white tails taken from a species of cow peculiar to Great Tibet, which are attached by way of ornament to the ears of elephants.3 The jade stone presented upon this occasion was of an extraordinary size, and therefore very precious.

¹ In 1635 when Ali Mardin Khan was Governor of Kashmir, i.e. about twenty-seren years before Bernier visited Kashmir.

³ Jachen in the original, a corruption of Yashm, the Persian namefor this mineral, see p. 298.

Jacken is in great estimation in the court of the Mogol: its colour is greenish, with white veins, and it is so hard as to be wrought only with diamond powder. Cups and vases are made of this stone. I have some of most exquisite workmanship, inlaid with strings of gold, and enriched with precious stones. The ambassador's train consisted of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dried-up looking and lean, with very scanty beards like the Chinese, and common red caps, such as our seamen wear. The

¹ The Red Cap sect of the Tibet Buddhists, called Dukpa or Shammar, in contradistinction to the Yellow Cap or Gelegpa sect, the followers of the great reforming Lama, named Tsong-khapa, born in 1358, died 1419. He forbade clerical marriages, prohibited necromancy, and introduced the custom of frequent conferences among the Lamas. His reforms led to a schism in the Tibetan Church.

Bogle in his narrative of his mission to Tibet in 1774, pp. 179, 180 (edited by Clements R. Markham, C.R., F.R.S. London, 1876), gives an interesting account of an interview he had with a party of Red Caps, in April 1775, when on his return to Bengal: 'A blind mm, with a young wife, came into the court and screnaried up. He played on the fiddle underhandwise; she rang; and both, assisted by a young boy, beat time hoppingly with their feet. The object of this compliment I fancy, it is needless to explain. Our municians gave way to a parcel of mendicant priests. It may be necessary to state that there are two sets of clergy in Tibet, distinguished by, and classed under the names of, Yellow Caps and Red Caps. The Dalai and Teshu Lamas are at the head of the Yellow Caps; the Red Caps have their own Lamas and monasteries. In times of old there were violent disputes between them, in which the Yellow Caps got the victory, as well by the assistance of the Tartars as by their superior sanctity. But as I adhere to the tenets of this sect, and have acquired my knowledge of religion from its votation. I will not here say much upon the subject less it should be thought spiteful. I may be allowed, however, just to mention two things, which must convince every unprejudiced person of the wicked lives and false doctrines of the Red Caps. In the first place, many of the clergy marry; and in the next, they persist, in opposition to religion and common sense, in wearing Red Caps. The priests who now visited us were of the last sect. There might be about eight of them. Each bold a staff in one hand and a resary in the other. They formed into a circle, and began to chant their prayers, which, as I understood they were put up for my welfare, I was in no haste to interrupt. At length, to show them that however hostile to their principles I bore them no personal gradge, I dismissed them with a few small pieces of silver."

remainder of the apparel was worthy of their head-gear. I rather think that four or five of these gentlemen wore swords, but the others followed the ambassador without staves or sticks. He entered into a negotiation with fureng-Zebe, and promised on the part of his master that a marque should be built in the capital, wherein prayers in the Mahometan form should be offered; that the coin should bear on one side the impress of Aureng-Zebe; and that the Mogol should receive an annual tribute. But no person doubts that this treaty will be totally disregarded as soon as Aureng-Zebe has quitted Kachemire, and that the King of Great Tibet will no more fulfil its stipulations than he did those of the treaty concluded between him and Chabe-Jehan.

There was in the saite of the ambassador a physician, said to be from the kingdom of Kassa, and of the Lamy or Lama tribe; a tribe which is the depositary of the law in Lassa as that of the Brehmens is in the Indies, with this difference, that the Brehmens of the Indies have no Calife or Pontiff, which these people have, who is not only recognised as such in the kingdom of Lassa, but throughout all Tartary, and is honoured and reverenced as a divine personage. The physician had a book of receipts which I could not persuade him to sell; the writing at a distance looked something like ours. induced him to write down the alphabet, but he did this with so much difficulty, and his writing was so wretchedly bad in comparison with that in his book, that we pronounced him an ignoramus. He was an ardent believer in metempsychosis, and entertained us with wonderful tales. Among others, he mentioned that when his Grand Luma was very old and on the point of death, he assembled the council, and declared to them that his soul was going to pass into the body of an infant recently born. The child was nourished with tender care; and when he had attained his sixth or seventh year, a large

¹ Lhass, the capital of the U province of Tibet.

quantity of household furniture and wearing apparel was placed before him, mixed up with his own, and he had the sagacity to discern which part was his own property, and which was not; a decisive proof, the physician observed, how true is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. At first I thought the man was speaking in irony, but I soon discovered that he was perfectly serious. One day I went to see him at the ambassador's, taking a Kachemirian merchant acquainted with the language of Tibet with me as an interpreter, on the pretence that I desired to purchase certain stuffs which he had for sale, a species of felt about a foot wide; but the real object of the visit was to obtain information concerning those imperfectly known regions. But I learnt little or nothing new: he only said generally that Great Tibet would bear no comparison with his own country; that the latter was covered with snow more than five months in the year, and that it was frequently engaged in war with the Tartars; but which Tartars these were he could not say. At length I found that the time passed with this man was misspent, for he was incapable of answering any one of the numerous questions I intended to ask.

The following which I now relate is such a well-established fact that no one here doubts it, namely that it is not twenty years since caravans went annually from Kachemire to Katay.\(^1\) They used to traverse the mountains of Great Tibet, enter Tartary, and reach Katay in about three months. It is an extremely difficult road, and there are impetuous torrents that can be crossed only by means of cords extended from rock to rock.\(^2\) The caravans returned with musk, China-wood [bois de Chine]\(^3\) rhubarb and

¹ See p. 427, footnote 4.

² This is an early mention of the rope suspension-bridges, *jholas*, which are common in Kashmir and Tibet, the ropes being made of hemp, or willow or birch twigs.

³ Also known as China-root, used in the same way as sarsaparilla, to which species it belongs. It is held in great esteem at the present day in the native pharmacopæias of India and China.

mamiron, a small root in great repute for the cure of bad eyes; and in returning through Great Tibet they further loaded themselves with the produce of that country, such as mush, crystal, jade, and especially with a quantity of very fine wool of two kinds, the first from the sheep of that country, and the latter which is known by the name of long, and resembles, as already observed, the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool. But since Chah-Jehan's trruption into Great Tibet, the King has not only interdicted the passage of caravans, but forbidden any person from Kachemire to enter his dominions. This is the reason why the caravans now take their departure from Patna on the Ganges so as to avoid his territories: they leave Great Tibet on the left and proceed directly to the kingdom of slaves, Lasan.²

In regard to the kingdom known here by the name of Kacheguer, which is in my opinion the same as our maps call Karcar, I shall relate all the information I have collected from merchants, natives of that country, who when they heard that Aureng-Zebe intended to visit Kachemire, brought into this kingdom for sale a great number of young slaves, girls and boys.

They say that Kacheguer lies to the east of Kachemire inclining somewhat to the northward; that the shortest route from one kingdom to the other is through Great Tibel, but, that passage being now shut, they were under the necessity of taking the road of Little Tibet. The first town they passed in returning was Gourtehe, the last town de-

Still, under the name of Mamiran-i-Chini, a popular drug in the bactars of the Punjab. It is ground up with rese-water and then applied to the eyes. See Balfour, Cyclep. of India, s.v.

The route from Patna to Chaoa was through Nepil, and vid the Kuti (Nislam) Pass to Shigatzé, and thence to Lham. From Lhasa there was a trade-route to Sining Fu on the Chinese frontier, north-east through Kokosai and the Charing Nor. This being the Patna-China toute mentioned by Bernier on the next page.

² As a matter of fact the town of Kashgar is in 76° 6' 47" E. long., and Srinagar is in 74° 50'.

pendent upon Kachenize, and four days' journey from the city of Kachemire: from Gouriche, they were eight days in reaching Eskerdou, the capital of Little Tibet; and in two days more they came to a small town called Cheker,2 also within the territory of Little Tibet, and situated on a river celebrated for its medicinal waters. In fifteen days they came to a large forest, on the confines of Little Tibet, and in fifteen days more they arrived at Kacheguer, a small town which was formerly the royal residence, though now the King of Kacheguer resides at Jourkend, a little more to the north, and ten days' journey from Kacheguer. These merchants added that the distance from the town of Kacheguer to Katay is not more than a two months' voyage; that caravans go thither every year, which return laden with the articles I have enumerated, and proceed to Persia by way of Usbek; as there are others that go from Katay to Paina, in Hindowstan. They also informed me that the way from Kucheguer to Katay is through a small town, eight days' journey from Coten, and that Coten b is the last town on that side in the kingdom of Kacheguer. The road from Kachemire to Kacheguer, they said, is extremely bad, and among other difficult paths, there is the place where, in every season, you must go a quarter of a league over ice.

Skirdé, taken by the Maharijá Gújáb Singh in 1840. Fid Gorce, it is fourteen marches from Srinagar; the marches may have been longer in Bernier's time.

³ Shigar, on the river of that name.

I Verland is to the south-east of the town of Kashgar.

^{*} It is interesting to note Bernier's use of this word here. It is the name for China which would be used by his informants, the merchants from Kashgar, see p. 426, although he was probably under the impression, a very common one at his time, that Katay or Cathay was a country to the north of China. Father Martini, in his About Atlar Secondary (1655), was one of the first to fully recognise its identity with China. See p. 155 text, and footnote 3.

^{*} Khotan.

⁸ This refers to a route from Skardů to Yarkand, which crossed the tialtern Glacier, which now, owing to changes in the ice, is no longer passable.

This is all the information I could collect concerning these regions; it is certainly confused and scanty, but after all will be found tolerably complete considering the ignorance of these people, seldom able to give reasons for anything, and that I had also to deal with interpreters who experienced the utmost difficulty both in clearly stating my interrogatories, and in explaining satisfactorily the answers.¹

Here I intended to close this letter, or rather this book, and take my leave of you until our return to Dehli; but my inclination for writing is still strong, and I enjoy some leisure. I shall endeavour, therefore, to answer the five questions which you put to me in your last letter, on behalf of the industrious and inquisitive Monsieur Therenot, who makes greater and more important discoveries in his study than others who circumnavigate the globe.

His first inquiry is, whether it be true that Jews have for a long period resided in the kingdom of Kachemire: whether they be in possession of the Holy Scriptures, and, if so, whether there be any discrepancy between their Old Testament and our own.

The second request is, that I should communicate whatever observations I may have made concerning the Moisson, or Season of the periodical rains in the Indies.

The third, that I make him acquainted with my remarks and opinions upon the singular regularity of the winds and currents in the seas of the Indies.

The fourth, whether the kingdom of Bengale be as fertile, rich, and beautiful as is commonly reported.

The fifth, that I give a decisive opinion on the old controversies as to the causes of the Nile's increase.

² Hence doubtless arose the errors in stating the relative bearings of Kashmir and Kashgar, and Kashgar, Yarkand.

Melchisedec, the uncle of the Praceller, Jean de Thevenot (1633-1667), is the weil-known Publisher of travels (Foi. Paris, 1603 et seg.), and was born about 1620, and died in 1622. He was the French Haklayt and Perchas.

Answer to the first Inquiry, concerning the Jews.

I would be as much pleased as Monsieur Thetenot himself if Jews were found in these mountainous regions; I mean such Jens as he would no doubt desire to find,-Jews descended from the tribes transported by Shalmaneser: but you may assure that gentleman that although there seems ground for believing that some of them were formerly settled in these countries, yet the whole population is at present either Gentile or Mukometan. In China, Indeed, there are probably people of that nation, for I have lately seen letters in the hands of our reverend Father the Jesuit of Dehli, written by a German Jesuit from Pekin, wherein he states that he had conversed with Jews in that city, who adhered to the forms of Judaian and retained the books of the Old Testament.1 They were totally ignorant of

1 The first settlement of the Jews in China is said to have taken place in A.D. 1163 (Empyl. Bril., 11th ed.). John de Marignolli, who was Papal Legate to the court of the Great Khan, and was in Peking (Cambalec) in 1341, states that he had many and glorious disputations with the Jews and other sectaries, and also made a great harves: of

souls in that Empire.

The German Jesuit referred to was in all probability Father Johann Adam Schall, or Schaal as sometimes given, a German from Zell (Cellein Hanover), not Cologne, as has been stated by some writers. Father Schall was born in 1591, came to China in 1622, and died at Peking in 1666. He was a great mathematician, and was one of those 'followers of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven' (i.e. Christiana), who were appainted to reform the Chinese calendar, the calculations of which had fallen into disorder. This was by a special decree of the Emperor. and the work was duly buished by means of the new system of the Foreigners' in 1628. Father Schall was held in great exceen by the Emperor of China, who conferred upon him the Mandarin's button of the first grade, and as we know from independent Chinese sources the very great esteem in which this missionary from Je-rh-ma-ni (Germany) was held by all classes in the Chinese Empire, at Feking and elsewhere, it is quite likely that the Chinese Jews would ask him to rule over them. Schall was a constant contributor to Kircher's stores of learning, and his portrait in Chinese official dress will be found at p. 113 of China Illustrata, in which work a copy of the inscription tablets on the Jesuit church at Peking, built by Schall, is given at p. 107, from which we learn his hirthplace as follows, . . PATER . JOANNES . ADAMUS SCHAL . A . ZELL . GERMANUS

the death of Jesus Chaist and had expressed a wish to appoint the Jesuit their Kakan¹ if he would abstain from swine's flesh.

There are, however, many signs of Judaism to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom after crossing the Pire-penjale mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jens. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jenish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jenit Fother, and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kachemire.

A second sign is the prevalence of the name of Mousa, which means Moses, among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all Muhometans.

A third is the common tradition that Solomon visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of Baramoule.

A fourth, the belief that Moses died in the city of Kachemire, and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by Solomon; and it is therefore called the Throne of Solomon to this day.²

You will see then, that I am not disposed to deny that Jews may have taken up their residence in Kuchemire.

¹ Khakan, or more properly Khaqan, the Xayaror of the Byzantine historians, the title of the Mogol Chingis, and those who succeeded him on the throne of Northern China. The Great Caan of the early travellers.
² See p. 399.

In recent times visitors to Kashmir sceing the names Rahlmju, Lusju, Julju, etc., etc., common ones among the tradespeople who cater for foreign visitors in Srienger, written up as Rahlmi 16w, Lus 1ew, Jun, Jun, have imagined that the bearers of these names were few by nationality!! The Jewish cast of features of many of the inhabitants of Kashmir is noticed by many modern travellers.

The purity of their law, after a lapse of ages, may have been corrupted, until, having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like many other pagans, to adopt the creed of *Mahomet*.¹

It is certain that many Jens are settled in Persia, at Lar and Hyspan; and in Hindoustan, towards Goa and Cochin.² I also learn that in Ethiopia, where they are very numerous, these people are remarkable for courage and military prowess; and if I am to believe two ambassadors from the Ethiopian King, lately at this court, there was a Jen, fifteen or sixteen years ago, grown so formidable, that he endeavoured to erect an independent kingdom in a certain small and mountainous district difficult of access.

Answer to the second Inquiry, concerning the Periodical Rains in the Indies.

The sun is so strong and oppressive in the *Indies* during the whole year, particularly during eight months, that the ground would be completely burnt, and rendered sterile and uninhabitable, if Providence did not kindly provide a remedy, and wisely ordain that in the month of July, when the heat is most intense, rains begin to fall, which continue three successive months. The temperature of

¹ The Moslem historian known as Albêrûnî, who was born in A.D. 973, says in his description of Kashmír, talking of the inhabitants: ¹They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindú whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people. —P. 205, vol. i., English Ed. by Dr. Edward C. Sachau. London: Trubner, 1888.

² It is said that Jews settled in Cochin in the first year of the Christian era, and from copperplates still extant it is put beyond doubt that the Jewish church was firmly established there by the eighth century. There is a regular Jews' quarter in the town of Cochin.

the air thus becomes supportable, and the earth is rendered fruitful. These rains are not, however, so exactly regular as to descend undeviatingly on the same day or week. According to the observations I have made in various places, particularly in Dehli, where I resided a long time, they are never the same two years together. Sometimes they commence or terminate a fortnight or three weeks sooner or later, and one year they may be more abundant than another. I have even known two entire years pass without searcely a drop of rain, and the consequences of that extraordinary drought were wide-spreading sickness and famine. It should be observed too that the rainy season is earlier or later, and more or less plentiful, in different countries, in proportion to their proximity or remoteness from one another. In Bengale, for instance, and along the coast of Koromandel, as far as the Island of Ceylon, the rains begin and end a month sooner than toward the coast of Malabar; and in Bengale they fall very violently for four months, in the course of which it sometimes pours during eight days and nights without the least intermission. In Dehli and Agra, however, the rains are neither so abundant nor of such long continuance; two or three days often elapsing without the slightest shower; and from dawn of day to nine or ten o'clock in the morning, it commonly rains very little, and sometimes not at all. It struck me very particularly that the rains come from different quarters in different countries. In the neighbourhood of Dehli they come from the east, where Bengale is situated; in the province of Bengale and on the coast of Koromandel, from the south; and on the coast of Malabar almost invariably from the west.

I have also remarked one thing, about which, indeed, there is a perfect agreement of opinion in these parts,—that accordingly as the heat of summer comes earlier or later, is more or less violent, or lasts a longer or shorter time, so the rains come sooner or later, are more or less abundant, and continue a longer or a shorter period.

From these observations I have been led to believe that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air are the principal causes of those rains which they attract. The atmosphere of the circumjacent seas being colder, more condensed, and thicker, is filled with clouds drawn from the water by the great heat of the summer, and which, driven and agitated by the winds, discharge themselves naturally upon land, where the atmosphere is hotter, more rarefied, lighter, and less resisting than on the sea; and thus this discharge is more or less tardy and plentiful, according as the heat comes early or late, and is more or less intense.

It is also in accord with the observations contained in this dissertation to suppose that if the rains commence sooner on the coast of Koromandel than on the coast of Malabar, it is only because the summer is earlier; and that it is earlier may be owing to particular causes which it would not perhaps be difficult to ascertain if the country were properly examined. We know that according to the different situations of lands, in respect of seas or mountains, and in proportion as they are sandy, hilly, or covered with wood, summer is felt more or less early, and with greater or less violence.

Nor is it surprising that the rains come from different quarters; that on the coast of Koromandel, for example, they come from the south, and on the Malabar coast from the west; because it is apparently the nearest sea which sends the rain; and the sea nearest the Koromandel coast, and to which it is more immediately exposed, lies to the south; as the sea which washes the coast of Malabar is to the west, extending itself towards Bab-cl-mandel, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf.

I have imagined, in fine, that although we see at Dehli the rainy clouds come from the east, yet their origin may be in the seas which lie to the south of that city: and being intercepted by some mountains or lands whose atmosphere is colder, more condensed and resisting, they are forced to turn aside and discharge themselves in a country where the air is more rarefied, and which consc-

quently offers less resistance.

I had almost forgotten to notice another fact which fell under my observation while living in Dehli. There never falls any heavy rain until a great quantity of clouds have passed, during several days, to the westward; as if it were necessary that the expanse of atmosphere to the west of Dehli should be first filled with clouds, and that those clouds finding some impediment, such as air less hot and less rarefied, and therefore more condensed and more capable of resistance; or encountering other clouds and contrary winds, they become so thick, overcharged and heavy, as to burst and descend in rain; in the same manner as it happens when clouds are driven by the wind against some lofty mountain.

Answer to the third Inquiry, concerning the Regularity of the Currents of the Sea, and the Winds in the Indies.

As soon as the rains cease, which happens commonly about the beginning of October, the sea takes its course toward the South, and the cold North wind rises. This wind continues four or five months without any intermission. It blows the whole of this time with equal force, unattended with tempests, and always from the same quarter, excepting sometimes for a single day when it changes or lulls. After the expiration of this period, the winds blow for about two months without any regularity. This is called the intermediate season, or, as the Dutch have very correctly named it, the time of the doubtful and variable These two months being passed, the sea resumes its course from the South to the North, and the South wind commences and continues to blow and the current continues to run four or five months from the same quarter. There then elopse about two months more, which constitute the other intermediate season. In these intervals Navigation

is extremely difficult and perilous, but during the two seasons it is very easy, pleasant, and safe, excepting only the latter part of the South-wind season. It ought not, therefore, to excite your surprise that the Indians, who are a very timid people and ignorant of the art of navigation, undertake pretty long and important voyages; such as from Reagale to Tanassery, Achem, Malacca, Siam, and Makascar, or to Maslipatam, Ceylon, the Maldives, Moka, and Bender-Abbusay. They are of course very careful to avail themselves of the favourable Season for going and the favourable season for returning. It often happens, however, that they are detained beyond the proper time, overtaken by bad weather, and wrecked. This is indeed sometimes the case with Europeans, although they be far better Sea-men, bolder and more skilful, and the condition and equipment of whose vessels are so greatly superior. Of the two intermediate Seasons, the one which follows the South wind is without comparison the more dangerous, being much more subject to storms and sudden squalls. That wind, even during the season, is generally more impetuous and unequal than the North wind. I must not omit to notice in this place, that toward the end of the Season of the South-wind and during the rains, although there be a perfect calm out at sea, yet near the coasts, for a distance of fifteen or twenty leagues, the weather is extremely tempestuous. The captains of European and other vessels should consequently be careful to approach the coast of the Indies, that of Surnle or Maslipatam, for instance, just after the termination of the rains; otherwise they incur great risk of being dashed on shore.

Such is the order of the seasons in the ladies, so far at least as my observations justify me in speaking upon the subject. I wish it were in my power to trace every effect to its true cause; but how is it possible to unravel these profound secrets of Nature! I have imagined, in the first place, that the air by which our Globe is surrounded ought to be considered one of its component parts, just as much

as the waters of the sea and rivers; because both the one and the other gravitating on this globe, and tending to the same common centre, are in this manner united to our sphere. The Globe then is formed of three bodies,-air, water, and earth. Secondly, our Globe being suspended and balanced in that free and unresisting space wherein it pleased the Creator to place it, would be easily displaced if it came in contact with any unknown body. Thirdly, the sun, after having crossed the line, while moving toward one of the Poles, towards the Arctic Pole, for example, darting its beams that way, produces sufficient impression to depress in some measure the Arctic Pole, which is depressed more and more in proportion as the sun advances towards the Tropie; and in the same manner, the sun permits it again to rise gradually in proportion as it returns toward the Equator; until the same effect is produced by the power of its rays on the side of the Antarctic Pole.

Taking for granted the truth of these suppositions, and considering them conjointly with the diurnal motion of the earth, it is not without reason that the Indiana affirm that the sun conducts and draws along with it both the sea and the wind; because, if it be true that, having passed the line on its way toward one of the Poles, the sun causes a change in the direction of the earth's axis and a depression of the Pole, it follows as a necessary consequence, that the other Pole is elevated, and that the sea and air, which are two fluid and heavy bodies, run in this declension. It is therefore correct to say, that the sun advancing toward one Pole causes on that side two great and regular currents,-the current of the sea and the current of the air, which latter constitutes the Monsoon-wind; as the sun is the cause of two opposite currents when it returns toward the other Pole.

Upon this theory it may, I think, be said that there are only two main and contrary flows [flux] of the sea, one from the Northern and the other from the Southern Pole; that if there existed a sea from one Pole to the other, which passed through Europe, we should there find these two currents regulated in every respect as in the Indies, and that the reason why this regularity is not general is that the seas are intercepted by lands, which obstruct, break, and diversify their course; in the same manner as some persons allege that the usual flux and reflux of the sea is prevented in those seas which, like the Mediterraneous, stretch from East to West. According to this theory, it might also, in my opinion, be maintained that there are only two principal and opposite currents of air or wind, and that in regard to them the same regularity would reign generally, if the earth were also perfectly and generally smooth, and similar throughout.

Answer to the fourth Inquiry, as to the fertility, wealth and beauty of the Kingdom of Bengale.

Egypt has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even our modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature: but the knowledge I have acquired of Bengale, during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines. me to believe that the pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengale. The latter country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. It is carried up the Ganges as far as Patna, and exported by sea to Maslipatam and many other ports on the coast of Kurumundel. It is also sent to foreign kingdoms, principally to the island of Ceylon and the Maldiver. Bengale abounds likewise in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of Gollonda and the Karnatic, where very little is grown, Arabia and Metopotamin, through the towns of Moka and Bassora, and even Perria, by way of Bender-Abban. Bengale likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats, especially in places inhabited by Portuguese, who are skilful in the art of preparing

them, and with whom they are an article of considerable trade. Among other fruits, they preserve large citrons, such as we have in Europe, a certain delicate root about the length of sarsaparilla, that common fruit of the Indies called amba,1 another called ananas,2 small mirobolius,2 . which are excellent, limes, and ginger.

Bengale, it is true, yields not so much wheat as Egypt; but if this be a defect, it is attributable to the inhabitants, who live a great deal more upon rice than the Egyptians, and seldom taste bread. Nevertheless, wheat is cultivated in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the country, and for the making of excellent and cheap sca-biscuits, with which the crews of European ships, English, Dutch and Portuguese, are supplied. The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter,4 form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single roupie twenty or more good fowls may be bought. Geese and ducks are proportionably There are also goats and sheep in abundance; and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the Portuguese, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork. This meat is salted at a cheap rate by the Dutch and English, for the supply of their vessels. Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, Bengale abounds with every

^{*} This is the mane, from the Brazilian mana or manar, of the pineapple in every country where it has been introduced from its original habitat in America, except England. This fruit is now very common in many parts of India, especially in those places that were Portuguese settlements, or came under the influence of that people.

Myrobalans, the dried fruit of Terminalia Reierica, T. chebula, etc., experted from India from a very remote period, and which had

a high reputation in the mediaval pharmacoporis.

^{*} That is, ghee, which is clarified butter. In preparing it, the butter is boiled until all the watery particles and curds have been thrown off by repeated skimmings. When the liquid is clear oil, it is poured into a vessel to cool, which it does in a graunlated form, and if originally well boiled, will keep for years without taint.

necessary of life; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, Half-castes,1 and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. Jesuits and Augustins, who have large churches and are permitted the free and anmolested exercise of their religion, assured me that Ogouli alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five-and-twenty thousand, The rich exuberance of the country, together with the beauty and amable disposition of the native women, has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengale has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in Bengule such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise. not of Hindonstan or the Empire of the Great Magal only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amuzed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengale for the supply of the whole of the Mogol Empire, as far as Lahor and Cabol, and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent. The silks are not certainly so fine as those of Persia, Syria, Sayd,

Medices, in the original.

and Barnt, but they are of a much lower price; and I know from indisputable authority that, if they were well selected and wrought with care, they might be manufactured into most beautiful stuffs. The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazur, where, in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number.

Bengale is also the principal emporium for salipetre. A prodigious quantity is imported from Patna.³ It is carried down the Ganges with great facility, and the Datch and English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies.

and to Europe.

Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best lac, opium, wax, circt, long pepper, and various drugs are obtained; and butter, which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.

Saids and Beimt (Beyrout), still great sillt-producing places, on the shores of the Levant. Saids, close to the ancient site of Sidon, and Beirut about 25 miles to the north.

One of the principal refineries of salipetre was at Chapsah, about 25 miles from Patna, where the French, Dutch, and Portuguese had

factories.

³ Ghee, see p. 438. There is still a large export trade in thus article, and the following table shows the quantity and value of ghee consigned from India, to foreign countries, from recent returns:

Three months, 1st April to 30th func.

	1589.	1890.	1891.
Quantity in lbs., . Value in Rupect	469.581 1,69.905	611,254	530,545

^{*} On account of the unwieldy nature of the large vessels made of defed skins (large in Hindostanee), in which it was then exported. At the present time ghee is as a rule shipped in iron 'drums' or large tin canisters

It is fair to acknowledge, however, that strangers seldom find the air salubrious, particularly near the sea. There was a great mortality among the Duich and English when they first settled in Bengale; and I saw in Balasor1 two very fine English vessels, which had remained in that port a twelvementh in consequence of the war with Holland, and at the expiration of that period, were unable to put to sea, because the greater part of the crews had died. Both the English and Datch now live with more caution and the mortality is diminished. The masters of vessels take care that their crews drink less punch; 2 nor do they permit them so frequently to visit the Indian women, or the dealers in araca and tobacca. Good Vin de Grave or Canary and Chiras wines, taken in moderation, are found excellent preservatives against the effects of bad air, therefore I maintain that those who live carefully need not be sick, nor will the mortality be greater among them than with the rest of the world. Bouleponge is a drink composed of arac, a spirit distilled from molasses, mixed with lemon juice, water and nutmeg; it is pleasant enough to the taste, but most hurtful to body and health.

In describing the beauty of Bengale, it should be remarked that throughout a country extending nearly an hundred leagues in length, on both banks of the Ganges,

² The port of Balasor on the Oritsa coast is still frequented by sloops from the Madras coast and Ceylon. In the Balasses District were several considerable ports in Bernier's time.

A "Bouleponges" in the original. A corious combination of the name of the drink and the vessel in which it was browed. Bole Panjis containing the tale of the Bucaneer: A Bottle of Red Ink: The Decline and Fall of Chests, and other ingradients, z vols. 8vo, was the name adopted in 1852 by H. Meredith Parket, a Bengal civilian well known in the Lower Provinces for his literary and dominate tastes, as the title of a book which he wrote. Bends is still the German name for punch, and the allied drinks.

The Bengal arrack was held in great repute in those days. Ovington, in A supage to Suratt in the Year 1686, Lond., 1696, tays of it, *Bengal is a much atronger spirit than that of Gos, though both are made use of by the Europeans in making punch.

from Roje-Mehale to the sea, is an endless number of channels,1 cut, in bygone ages, from that river with immense labour, for the conveyance of merchandise and of the water itself, which is reputed by the Indians to be superior to any in the world. These channels are lined on both sides with towns and villages, thickly peopled with Gentiles; and with extensive fields of rice, sugar, corn, three or four sorts of vegetables, mustard, sesame for oil. and small mulberry-frees, two or three feet in height, for the food of silk-worms. But the most striking and peculiar beauty of Bengale is the innumerable islands filling the vast space between the two banks of the Ganges, in some places six or seven days' journey asunder. These islands vary in size, but are all extremely fertile, surrounded with wood, and abounding in fruit-trees, and pine-apples, and covered with verdure; a thousand water-channels run through them, stretching beyond the sight, and resembling long walks arehed with trees. Several of the islands, nearest to the sea, are now abandoned by the inhabitants,2 who were exposed to the attacks and ravages of the Armone pirates, spoken of in another place. At present they are a dreary waste, wherein no living creature is seen except antelopes, hogs, and wild fowls, that attract tigers,

In the original content, from which it would almost appear that the artificial river embankments of Dengal led Bernier to believe that the rivers themselves were canalo, the work of human agency in times past; although further on, at p. 453, he states that the periodical rains in Bengal obviate the necessity of cutting irrigation canals in that country, as has to be done in Egypt.

Remains of houses and embankments have been found in isolated parts of this tract, called the Sundarbans; and various attempts, which have been to some extent successful in the northern portion, at reclaiming and cultivating the land have been made from time to time since the British acquired Bengal.

³ In the original, ' Corsaires Franguys de Rakan;' sec p. 175-

^{*} Jungle fowl. In the original, volatiles determs savrages, Bernier being apparently under the impression that the jungle fowl to be met with in the Sundarbans were descended from domestic poultry that escaped and became wild.

which sometimes swim from one island to another. In traversing the Ganges in small rowing boats, the usual mode of conveyance among these islands, it is in many places dangerous to land, and great care must be had that the boat, which during the night is fastened to a tree, be kept at some distance from the shore, for it constantly happens that some person or another falls a prey to tigers. These ferocious animals are very apt, it is said, to enter into the boat itself, while the people are asleep, and to carry away some victim, who, if we are to believe the boatmen of the country, generally happens to be the stoutest and fattest of the party.

I remember a nine days' voyage that I made from Pipli to Ogouli, among these islands and channels, which I cannot omit relating, as no day passed without some extraordinary accident or adventure. When my seven-pared scallop had conveyed us out of the river of Pipli, and we had advanced three or four leagues at sen, along the coast, on our way to the islands and channels, we saw the sea covered with fish, apparently large carp, which were pursued by a great number of dolphins. I desired my men to row that way, and perceived that most of them were lying on their side as if they had been dead; some moved slowly along, and others seemed to be struggling and turning about as if stupefied. We caught four-and-twenty with our hands, and observed that out of the month of every one issued a bladder, like that of a carp, which was full of air and of a reddish colour at the end. I easily conceived that

¹ Pippli (Pipilication of Blacu's map), at one time a very famous port, and the most important harbour on the Origin count, on the Subarnarcka River, about 16 miles from its mouth, the radiest maritime settlement of the English in Bengal, founded in 1634, on the rains of the Portuguese factory. Owing to changes in the course of the river not one stone now remains to mark the spot where the famous port once stood. It was probably here that Bernier saw the English wessels he mentions at p. 441. Subarnarcka, about 12 miles from the mouth of the river, now a more result for fishing boats, was also at one time a considerable harbour of the Balasco district, after the decay of Pippli.

it was this bladder which prevented the fish from sinking, but could never understand why it thus protruded, unless it were that having been long and closely pursued by the dolphins, they made such violent efforts to escape, that the bladder swelled, became red, and was forced out of the mouth. I have recounted this circumstance to a hundred sailors, whom I found incredulous; with the exception, indeed, of a Dutch pilot, who informed me that, sailing in a large vessel along the coasts of China, his attention was arrested by a similar appearance, and that putting out their boat they caught, as we did, with only their hands, many of the fish.

The day following we arrived, at rather a late hour, among the islands; and having chosen a spot that appeared free from tigers, we landed and lighted a fire. I ordered a couple of fowls and some of the fish to be dressed, and we made an excellent supper. The fish was delicious. I then re-embarked, and ordered my men to row on till night. There would have been danger in losing our way in the dark among the different channels, and therefore we retired out of a main channel in search of a snug creek, where we passed the night; the boat being fastened to a thick branch of a tree, at a prudent distance from the shore. While keeping watch, I witnessed a Phenomenon of Nature such as I had twice observed at Dehli. I beheld a lunar rainbow, and awoke the whole of my company, who all expressed much surprise, especially two Portuguese pilots, whom I had received into the boat at the request of a friend. They declared that they had neither seen nor heard of such a rainbow.

The third day, we lost ourselves among the channels, and I know not how we should have recovered our right course, had we not met with some Portuguese, who were employed in making salt on one of the islands. This night again, our boat being under shelter in a small channel, my Portuguese, who were full of the strange appearance on the preceding night, and kept their eyes constantly fixed

toward the heavens, roused me from my sleep and pointed ont another minbow as beautiful and as well defined as the last. You are not to imagine that I mistake a halo for an iris. I am familiar with the former, because during the rainy season at Dehli, there is scarcely a month in which a halo is not frequently seen round the moon. But they appear only when that luminary is very high above the horizon: I have observed them three and four nights successively, and sometimes I have seen them doubled. The iris of which I speak was not a circle about the moon, but was placed in an opposite direction, in the same relative position as a solar rainbow. Whenever I have seen a night iris, the moon has been at the west and the iris at the east. The moon was also nearly complete in its orb, because otherwise the beams of light would not, I conceive, be sufficiently powerful to form the minbow; nor was the iris so white as the halo, but more strongly marked, and a variety of colours was even discernible. Thus you see that I am more happy than the ancients, who, according to Aristotle, had observed no lunar rainbows before his time.

In the evening of the fourth day we withdrew, as usual, out of the main channel to a place of security, and passed a most extraordinary night. Not a breath of wind was felt, and the air became so hot and suffocating that we could scarcely breathe. The bushes around us were so full of glow-worms that they seemed ignited; and fires resembling flames arose every moment to the great alarm of our sailors, who did not doubt that they were so many devils. Two of these luminous appearances were very remarkable. One was a great globe of fire, which continued longer than the time necessary to repeat a Pater, the other looked like a small tree all in flames, and lasted above a quarter of an hour.

The night of the fifth day was altogether dreadful and perilous. A storm areae so violent, that although we were, as we thought, in excellent shelter under trees, and our boat carefully fastened, yet our cable was broken, and we should have been driven into the main channel, there inevitably to perish, if I and my two Portuguese had not, by a sudden and spontaneous movement, entwined our arms round the branches of trees, which we held tightly for the space of two hours, while the tempest was raging with unabated force. No assistance was to be expected from my Indian boatmen, whose fears completely overcame them. Our situation while changing for our lives to the trees was indeed most painful; the rain fell as if poured into the boat from buckets, and the lightning and thunder were so vivid and loud, and so near our heads, that we despaired of surviving this horrible night.

Nothing, however, could be more pleasant than the remainder of the voyage. We arrived at Ogouly on the ninth day, and my eyes seemed never sated with gazing on the delightful country through which we passed. My trunk, however, and all my wearing-apparel were wet, the poultry dead, the fish spoilt, and the whole of my biscuits

soaked with rain.

Answer to the fifth Inquiry, concerning the Periodical Rising of the Nile.

I know not whether my solution of this fifth question will be satisfactory; but I shall impart opinions formed after having been twice a witness of the increase, after having given to the subject the whole of my attention, and after making certain observations in the Indies which afford some facilities for the disquisition, which must have been wanting to the great man who has written so ingeniously and learnedly on this interesting topic, although he never saw Egypt but in his study.

¹ Bernier appears to have travelled from Pippli to Hooghly, not by the main channel of the river, but through minor channels. All those who are familiar with the nature of the Sundarban tracts will be able to tenify to the vividness of the traveller's description of his journey.

I have already mentioned that while the two Ethiopian ambassadors were at Dehli, my Agah, Danechmend-kan, whose thirst for knowledge is incessant, invited them frequently to his house, and that I was always one of the party.1 His object was to be made acquainted with the state of their country, and the nature of its government. Among other subjects, we spoke a great deal about the source of the Nile, which is called by them Abbabile. They spoke of its source as of a thing generally well known, and concerning which no one entertained any doubt. One of the ambassadors had even seen it, accompanied by a Mogol who had returned with him to Hindonston. They told us that the source of the river Nile is in the country of the Again; that it gushes out of the earth by two large and bubbling springs near one another, and forming a small lake of about thirty or forty paces in length; that the river issuing from this lake is of considerable size, and that in its progress it receives many tributary waters, which swell it to an important stream. They went on to observe, that this stream pursues a winding course, and forms an extensive peninsula; and that after descending from several steep rocks, it falls into a large lake, in the country of Dumbia, only four or five days' journey from the source, and three short journeys from Gonder, the capital of Ethiopia; that having traversed this lake, the river leaves it, with the accession of all the waters which fall into the lake; passes through Sonaar, the chief city of the Funges or Barberis, tributaries to the King of Ethiopia, whence, tumbling among the cataracts, it pursues its way into the plains of Messer,2 that is, Egupt.

When the ambassadors had furnished these particulars as to the source and course of the Nile, I wished to form some idea of the situation of the country where the source

1 Sen p. 134 at sag.

The Arabic Mer. This name and the Hebrew Mirrain certainly are of Semitic origin, and perhaps mean 'frontier-land' (Empel. Brit., 11th ed. ix. 41).

is found: I therefore inquired in what part of Africa, relatively to Bab-el-mandel, Dumbia is situated. But they could return no other answer than that it lay toward the West. I was surprised to hear this observation, especially from the Mahometan ambassador, who ought to be better informed than a Christian of the relative bearings of places, because all Mahametans are bound, when repeating their prayers, to look toward Meca. He also persisted in saying that Dumbia is situated to the west of Bab-el-mandel; so that the source of the river Nile, according to these ambassadors, is considerably to the north of the equator, and not to the south, where it is placed by Ptolemy, and in all our maps.

We inquired further of them when it rained in Ethiopia, and whether the rains were periodical in that country as in the Indies. They answered that it seldom or never rained along the coast of the Red Sea, from Suaken, Arkiko, and the island of Masoura, to Bab-cl-mondel, any more than at Moka, in Arabia Felix, on the opposite shore of that sea. In the interior of the country, however, in the province of the Agaus, in Dumhia, and the circumjucent provinces, the rains were very heavy during the two hottest months of summer, those months when it also rains in the Indies, and exactly the time when, according to my computation, the increase of the Nile in Egypt takes place. They were quite aware, the ambassadors added, that the swelling of that river and the immedations of Egypt were caused by the rains of Ethiopia; and that the former country owed its fecundity to the slime conveyed and deposited thither by the Nile. It was from these circumstances, they observed, that the Kings of Ethiopia derived the right of exacting tribute from Egypt; and when that kingdom was subdued by the Mahometans, and its Christian population became oppressed and exposed to every indignity, the Ethiopian Monarch had thoughts of turning the course of the river toward the Red Sea, a measure which would have destroyed the fertility of Egopt, and

449

consequently proved rainous to the country: but the project appeared so gigantic, if not impracticable, that the attempt was never made to carry it into execution.

All these particulars I had already been made acquainted with when at Moka, in the course of various conversations with ten or a dozen Gooder merchants, sent every year to that city by the King of Ethiopia for purposes of traffic

This is a very curious version of the mediaval belief in Europe that the Abyasinian King, Prester John, received a large tribute from the Sultan of Egypt to prevent him from diverting the course of the Nile. Simon Stjoli, who travelled in the Levant in 1384, states that the tribute was a ball of gold with a cross upon it, worth 3000 golden becamis, and many other telerences to this subject could be quoted, for some of which see Yule's Cethay and the Way Thither, vol. ii. pp. 348-350. London. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1866. Ariosto alludes to the belief in his Orlando Furiess, Canto XXXIII, v. 106, as follows:—

"The said, the Suiran, Egypt's Soversign,
As abbject in the King, does tribute poy;
Since he the Nile is able to centrain
From its right course, and closwhere cause it saray
And Calen, thus afflicted, came smalls,
With famine, and the parts that cound it lay,
Senapes ramed, by those his Empire own,
We call him Pressn, or else Presser John.
Theres Hanny Course's Translation,
London, 1715.

In our own time the feasibility of diverting the Nile into the Red Sea so as toe 'put pressure on ' Egypt has been several times mooted. In 1851 the late Dr. Beke forwarded to Lord Palmerston, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of his Memoir on the feasibility of diverting the waters of the Nile in as to prevent the Irriga-

tion of Egypt.

In The Times newspaper of the 9th October 1888 will be found a letter from Sir Samuel W. Baker, in which he attributes the then abmormally low state of the Nile to some 'unexplained interference with the river,' one of the results in his opinion of the abandonment of the Soudan; and he goes on to reiterate his views as to the immense importance of the Soudan to Egypt, and the necessity for keeping a firm hand upon the basis of the Nile, 'As an enemy in possession of the Blue Nile, and the Athura River could by throwing a dam across the empty had . . . prevent the necessary flow towards Egypt. . . I have seen a spot, about 230 miles from the mouth of the Athura, where the river might be deflected without difficulty, and be forced to an eastern course towards the Red Sea.'

with the vessels from the Indies. The information is useful, as tending to demonstrate that the Nile increases only by means of the rains which fall near its source, and at a distance from Egypt. But I attach still greater importance to my own observations, made upon two separate occasions during the overflowing of that river, because they expose the fallacy of some popular opinions, and prove them to be merely vulgar and idle tales, the inventions of a people much given to superstition, and lost in astonishment at witnessing the increase of a river during the heat of summer, in a country where rain is unknown. I allude, among other conceits, to the notion that there is a certain determinate day on which the Nile begins its increase; that a particular dew, called the Goule, falls on this first day of the increase, which puts an end to the plague, no person dying of that disease when the Goule has begun to descend; and that the overflowing of the Nile is owing to particular and secret causes. I have discovered that this celebrated stream, like other rivers, swells and overflows in consequence of abundant rains, and that we are not to ascribe its increase to the fermentation of the nitrous soil of Egypt.1

I have seen it rise more than a foot, and become very turbid, nearly a month before the pretended determinate

day of the increase.

I have remarked, in the time of its increase, and before the opening of the irrigation channels, that after the water had swollen during some days a foot or two, it decreased little by little, and then began to increase anew; and in this manner the river augmented or lessened, just

The great cold in Western Turtary was attributed to the saltpetre in the soil. 'The sultpetre with which these countries abound may also contribute to this great cold, which is so violent that in digging the ground to three or four feet deep they take out clods quite frozen, as well as pieces of ice, page 36 of The History of the Turtar Conquerors of China. From the French of Pier Pierre Joseph D'Orlians, S.J. Translated by the Earl of Ellermere, with an Introduction by R. H. Major of the Brit. Mus. London. Haklayt Soc., 1854.

according as the rains did or did not full near its source. The same thing is observable in our Loire; it increases or diminishes in proportion to the rains on the mountains whence that river flows.

Once, on my return from Jerusalem, I ascended the Nile from Damietta to Cairo, about a month before the day on which it is said that the Goute falls; and in the morning our clothes were soaked in consequence of the dew that

had fallen during the night.

I supped with M. de Berman, our vice-consul at Hasetta, eight or ten days after the fall of the Goule. Three of the party were that same evening seized with the plague, of whom two died on the eighth day; and the other patient, who happened to be M. de Rermon himself, would perhaps have fallen a victim to the disease if I had not ventured to prescribe a remedy, and lanced his abscess. I caught the infection, and but for the butter of antimony,1 to which I had immediate recourse, it might have been seen in my ease also that men die of the plague after the descent of the Goute. The emetic, taken at the commencement of the disorder, performed wonders, and I was not confined to the house more than three or four days. A Bedouin servant attended me; he endeavoured to keep up my spirits by swallowing, without a moment's hesitation, what remained of the soup I was taking; and being a predestinarian, he laughed at the idea of danger from the plague.

I am far from denying that this distemper is generally attended with less danger after the fall of the Goule. All I maintain is, that the decrease of danger should not be attributed to the Goule. In my opinion the mitigation of the disease is owing to the heat of the weather, then become intense, which opens the pores and expels the pestiferous and malignant humours that remained con-

fined in the body.

Moreover I have carefully inquired of several Roys,* or

Now called, antimony trichloride.

³ Read sais, the Arabic for a captain of a boat, a pilot.

masters of boats, who have ascended the Nile to the extremity of the plains of Egypt, as far as the rocks and cataracts. They assured me that when the river overflows the Egyptian plains, the soil of which is represented as nitrous and fermentative, the Nile is greatly increased between the mountains of the cataracts, which it inundates in a surprising manner, although the soil upon those mountains is not apparently impregnated with nitre.

I was also very particular in making the necessary inquiries of the Sonnar negroes who repair to Cairo for employment, and whose country, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, is situated on the Nile among the mountainous tracts to the south of Egypt. These negroes all agreed in asserting, that at the time when the Nile inundates the plains of Egypt, it is swollen and impetuous in their own country, because of the rains which then fall, not only in their mountains, but higher up, in the region of Habeche or Ethiopia.

The observations made by me on the periodical rains of the Indies, which fall during the time that the Nile is increasing in Egypt, throw considerable light upon this subject, and will lead you to imagine that the Indus, the Ganges, and all the other rivers in this part of the globe are so many rivers Nile, and the countries contiguous to their mouths so many lands of Egypt. Such were the ideas which suggested themselves to my mind when in Bengale, and the following is, word for word, what I then wrote concerning this matter.

The numerous islands in the gulf of Bengale, at the mouth of the Ganges, which the course of ages has united together, and at length has joined to the continent, recall

³ Or, as so well described in The Imperial Grantter of India, "The country" (s.e. the Sundarian district) "is one vast allowed plain, where the continual process of land-making has not yet ceased. It abounds in moreoses and swamps now gradually filling up, and is intersected by large rivers and estuaries running from north to routh. These are connected with each other by innumerable smaller channels; so that the whole tract is a tangled network of streams, rivers, and water-courses, enclosing a large number of islands of various shapes and sizes."

to my mind the mouths of the river Nile. When in Egypt I remarked the same process of nature; and as it is often said, in the language of Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so may it be observed that Bengale is the production of the Ganges. There is only this difference between the two rivers, that the Ganges being incomparably larger than the Nile, it carries toward the sea a much greater quantity of earth; and thus forms a number of islands more numerous and larger than those of the Nile. The islands of the Nile too are destitute of trees; but those of the Ganges are all covered with them, owing to the four months of regular and excessive rains that fall in the midst of summer. These rains obviate the necessity of cutting canals in Bengale, as is done in Egypt, for the

³ This statement, and in fact the entire passage, is a striking example of Bernier's wonderful powers of correct observation; the ordinary low water discharge of the Nile being \$1,300 cubic feet per second, while that of the Ganges is 207,000; withough the trapth of the stream of the Nile greatly exceeds that of the Ganges, the figures being 3370 and 1557 miles respectively. As has been so well and graphically stated by Sir W. W. Hunter in The Impirial Gasetter of India;—

"After the lapse of twenty centuries, and the rice and fall of rival religious, veneration for the Ganges sell figures as a chief article in the creed of modern Hindminn.

To hatte in the Ganges, especially at the great stated feativals, will wash
away the stain of sin; and those who have thus purified themselves carry limbs
bottles of the mered water to their last fortunate relations. To the soil be builted
on the river hank is a paraport to eternal blim. Even to exclaim "Ganga, Ganga,"
as the distance of a bundred leagues, will atoms for the sine committed during three
recevious lives.

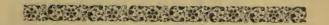
The river that reverenced by the Hindus deserves their homage by reason of its exceptional willey for agriculture and navigation. None of the other rivers of India approach the Ganges in beneficence. The Brahmaputra and the Indea may have longer tireams, as measured by the geographer, but the upper murses of both he hidden within the niknews recesses of the Himshyan. Not one of the great civers of central or Southern India is mavigable in the proper sense of the term. The Ganges begins to distribute feetility as soon as it reaches the plains, within one miles of its sources; and as the same point it becomes in some our navigable. Themselbrugeds it rolls majorically down to the our in a bountiful arram, which sever becomes a maje destructive several in the raim, and never deladles away in the hostest sammer. If somewhat desinished by irregation, its volume is forthwist centered by antinerous great tributaries; and the wide area of its river basis receives accountly a millorest salufall to maintain the supply in every part. Embadements are in few places required to restrain its intustictions, for the allertal sale which is spills over its banks year by year affords to the fields a sup-dressing of legalatingthis fermity. If one crop be drawned by the food, the cultivator calculates that his second crop will abundantly require him."

purpose of irrigating and enriching the land. They could indeed be made with as much facility in the one country as in the other, the Ganges and other rivers of Hindouston increasing, the same as the Nile, in summer in consequence of the rains which regularly fall at that season. There is this difference between the two countries: that in Egypt no rain is known, neither in summer nor scarcely at any other time, excepting occasionally in a small quantity toward the sea. It is only near the source of the Nile, in Ethiopia, that rain falls; whereas throughout the Indies it rains periodically in the countries through which the rivers flow. It should be observed, however, that this is not the ease universally; for in the kingdom of Scyndy, toward the Persian Gulf, where the mouth of the Indus is situated, there are years during which no rain whatever falls, although the Indus be greatly swollen. The fields are then irrigated, as in Egopt, by means of kalis, or artificial channels.

In regard to the wish expressed by Monsieur Therenot that I should send you a detailed narration of my Adventures in the Red Sea, at Suez, Tor, Mount Sinai, Gidda (in that pretended holy land of Mahomet, half a day's journey from Meca), in the island of Kamarane and at Louhaya, together with all the information which I obtained at Moka concerning the Kingdom of Ethiopia, and the best route for entering therein, it is my intention to gratify that wish when I have had time to put in order, God helping me, my Papers.

I Add, the name in Bengal for an inlet of the sea or of a large river, a creek; the water being baled from the khill, and then distributed over the fields by means of small artificial channels.

^{*} Kameran, now a British possession, off the coast of Arabla, in the same latitude as Annesley Bay in Abyasinia. Loheia, a town on the mainland of Arabla, about 20 miles to the north of the island of Kameran.



A Memorandom omitted to be included in my first Work, to complete the Map of Hindoustan, and make known the revenues of the Great Mogol.

THE better to understand what follows it is necessary to know the signification of the following terms.

- 1. Soubah, 1 that is to say, Government and Province.
- 2. Pragna,² that is, the chief City, Burgh or Village which has many others subordinate to it, and where the Rents are paid to the King, who is the absolute Lord [Scigneur] of all the lands of his Empire.
- 3. Serkar, that is the Exchequer of the King's income from all sources [Tresors du Roy].
- 4. Kaziné,4 that is, Treasury.
- Roupie,⁵ the money of the Country, worth about thirty sols.

¹ Súbah, derived from the Arabic, originally a heap of money, or a granary, hence a Province.

² Pargana, a tract of country comprising the lands of many villages; there are several Parganas in a Zilla (or Shire), and several Zillas go to make up a Province.

³ Sarkdr, more familiarly 'circat,' as the 'Northern Circars.' The word literally means a chief, a superior; Bernier seems to use it in the sense of a sub-division of a Province in which a 'treasury' for rent collection was situated.

4 Khazána, Bernier's rendering is the original meaning. It may also be translated as the public revenue, the land-tax or rent.

b Which is the value assumed by Manucci and Tavernier, and makes the rupee then = 2s. 3d.; see page 200, footnote 1.

6. Lecque,1 that is, one hundred thousand.

7. Kourour, a hundred Leagues.

1. Jehun-Abad or Dehli is the first Soubah; it has sixteen . Serkers dependent upon it, and two hundred and thirty Pragnus. It yields to the King * 1,95,25,000 lu Roupies

2. Agra, otherwise called Akber-ahad, is the second; it comprises fourteen Serkars, two hundred and sixteen Pragnas, and yields to the King

2,52,25,000

3. Lahor has fourteen Serkars, and three hundred and fourteen Pragnas, yielding to the King

2,46,95,000

4. Hanner, which belongs to a Roja, * pays to the King a tribute of

2,19,70,000

5. Gumrate, of which the capital is Ahmedabad, has nine Serkars and one hundred and ninety Pragnas, yielding to the King

1,33,95,000

6. The Kingdom of Candahar belongs to the King of Persia, but the Pragnus which still remain united to the Kingdom of the Great Mogol are fifteen, and yield him a rental of

19,92,500

Carry forward, 10,68,02,500

1 Lack, from the Hindomanee lack from the Sanskrit lacksha, originally meaning a mark.

* Crore, from the Hindostanee harry. Arb is the name for 100

erores.

For facility of reference the totals have been extended in this form, Bernier giving the figures in words only, which are difficult to add up.

Ajmere, although nominally a province of the Mogul Empire in Bernier's time, was also to a great extent under the influence of the Rahtor Princes of Marwar. It was with the object of consolidating the Mogul power there, that Ajmere was made the capital of the Empire during several years of Jahangir's reign.

-	Brought forward,	
7.	Maloiia comprises nine Serkars, one	
	hundred and ninety Pragnas, yielding	91,62,500
8.	Patna, or Beara, has eight Serkars, two	
	hundred and forty-five Pragnas, yield-	
	ing	95,80,000
9.	Elabas has seventeen Serkars, two hun-	
	dred and sixteen Pragnas, and yields	94,70,000
10	Haoud comprises five Serkars, one hun-	
	dred and forty-nine Pragnas, yielding	
11	Moultan has four Serkars, ninety-six	
11.	Pragnas, and yields	1,18,40,500
12.	Jagannat, in which is included Ben-	
	gale, has eleven Serkars, twelve Prag-	
	nas, and yields	72,70,000
13.	Kachemire has five Serkars, forty-five	
	Pragnas, and yields	(sic) 2 3,50,000
14.	Caboul has thirty-five Pragnas, yield-	
	ing a rental of	32,72,500
15.	Tata 3 has four Serkars and fifty-four	
	Pragnas, yielding a rental of	23,20,000
16.	Aureng-abad, formerly called Daulet-	
	abad, has eight Serkars, seventy-nine	
	Pragnas, and yields a rental of	1,72,27,500
17	Varada de comprises twenty Serkars, one	
11.	hundred and ninety-one Pragnas,	
	yielding	1,58,75,000
	Jiciania -	
	C C 1	00 00 00 000

Carry forward, 20,00,00,500

¹ By Jagannat is meant Orissa, the Province in which is situated the celebrated Juggernaut (for Jagannath) temple. A tax upon the offerings at that Hindoo shrine was probably very remunerative to the Moguls.

² Apparently a clerical error for 35,00,000. In a Dastúr ul Amal (Revenue Manual) of the third year of Aurangzeb, 1654-55, quoted by Thomas, in the work cited over leaf, the Revenue of Kashmír is given as Rs. 28,59,750.

³ Sind.

⁴ Berár.

Brought forward,	20,00,00,500
Candeys, of which the chief town is Brampour, has three Serkars, three hundred Pragnas, yielding	1,85,50,000
dom of Golkonda, in the direction of Maslipatam, has forty-three Pragnas, vielding a rental of	68,85,000
Baganala, ² which borders the territory of the Portuguese and the mountain strongholds of Seva-gi, the Raja who plundered Sourate, has twelve Ser-	
kars, and eight Pragnas, and yields a	5,00,000
	22,59,85,500
	Brampour, has three Serkars, three hundred Pragnas, yielding Talengand, which marches on the Kingdom of Golkonda, in the direction of Maslipatam, has forty-three Pragnas, yielding a rental of Baganala, which borders the territory of the Portuguese and the mountain strongholds of Seva-gi, the Raja who plundered Sourale, has twelve Serkars, and eight Pragnas, and yields a rental of

According to this Memorandum, which I do not believe to be very exact or credible, the Great Mogol has an annual revenue from his lands alone of more than two [sic] Kouroures 3 of Roupies.

Note on the foregoing Memorandum.

The late Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S., formerly in the service of the Honourable East India Company in Bengal, in his exceedingly valuable work, The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India, from A.D. 1593 to A.D. 1707 (London, Trübner, 1871) estimates the value of the above return very highly, although Bernier is apologetic for the table itself and expresses his distrust of the grand total, which he clearly considered to be far too large in amount. Mr. Thomas then goes on to say that 'so far from any excess in the grand total, I am disposed to impute a deficiency, especially in the complete omission of any

¹ Telingana.

² Báglán or Baglána; now a subdivision of the Násik District,

Bombay (see Imp. Gazr., 1908, s.v.). 3 In the original, plus de deux Kouroures, the word twenty being omitted. This mistake has been copied by all Bernier's subsequent editors and translators, but see No. 5 of the Bibliography.

return for the Province of Bengal, and the manifest absence of a nought in the sum assigned for Kashmir.' I would venture. however, to point out that Bernier distinctly states (Item 12.) that the revenue from Bengal is included in that for 'Jagannat,' which I hold to be Orissa. Rs. 72,70,000 is certainly a comparatively small sum for the combined revenues, one of the Provinces, Bengal, being, according to Bernier's own showing (pp. 437-446) the richest in all the Indies; but it should be borne in mind, that in his time Bengal had revolted, under Prince Shujah (see pp. 80 and 92), and it is not likely that the Emperor derived a large revenue from that Province during the period of rebellion. Bernier, however, does not tell us anything of the source from which he derived his figures, nor the exact period to which they refer, but as Mr. Thomas says 'they bear the stamp of a certain degree of authenticity, and allowing for deficiencies, they fairly fit in with the prior and subsequent returns.' It would be quite beyond the scope of the present publication to even attempt to deal tentatively with such an important subject as the revenues of Hindostan under the Moguls, but I believe that the following table, compiled from Mr. Thomas's masterly work, may be of considerable interest to many. It would be quite possible to explain the variations approximately, as due to the changing boundaries of the Empire at various periods, or to the agricultural advance or retrogression of the several Provinces, the result of famines or other causes. The effect of the residence of the Court upon the material prosperity of the favoured locality. as pointed out by Mr. Thomas, might also be learnt by an exhaustive analysis of the Provincial totals—the latter a factor of prosperity or otherwise, which Bernier with his keen insight has not failed to notice, as may be learnt from pp. 220, 271, 381 and 384 of this volume.

THE GROSS PROVINCIAL REVENUES OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

PERIOD.	A.D. 1994. Akbar.	A-D. 1648. Sháb-Jahán.	A.D. 1654. Aurang- zeb.	Some year between 1650-1607. BEKNIER'S return.	Date uncer- tain, but held to be between 1667-1691. Official re- turns.	A.D. 1697. Aurang- zeb.	A.D. 1707. Aurang- zeb.
RUPEES.	14.19.09,576	22,00,00,000	26,74,39,708	22,59,35,500	35,64,14,308 (4)	38,62,46,800	30, 17, 95, 859

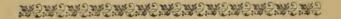
Increases and decreases may then be accounted for, broadly, as follows:-

- 1, 2. Increases due to gradual consolidation of Akbar's conquered Provinces.
- 3. Decrease accounted for by the effects of the Rebellion, the richest Province, Bengal, in partial revolt for several years.
- 4, 5. Returning prosperity, and conquests in the Deccan, adding new Provinces to the Empire.
- 6. The Mogul rule waning, the Marathás increasing in power, and incessantly harrying many of the Mogul Provinces, 'levying chauth' and sardésmukhi² with the alternative of fire and sword: cutting off the sources of revenue, and wearying out the disorganised armies of the Empire.' A. C. Lyali, Berar Gazetteer, Bombay, 1870, p. 122.

¹ A payment equal to one-fourth, hence the name, of the actual revenue collections of the State, demanded as the price for forbearing to ravage, blackmail in fact. In Robert Mabon's Sketches Illustrative of Oriental Manners and Customs, Calcutta, 1797, will be found (plate vi.) a very graphic illustration of the levying of chauth, entitled 'Mahratta Pendairees returning to camp after a plundering Excursion.'

² The proportion of ten per cent. exacted from the revenues of the Muhammadan territories of the Deccan, in addition to the chauth. It was originally claimed by Sivají as head Desmukh (a hereditary native officer who exercised the chief police and revenue authority over a district), whence the name.





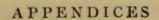
Abstract of the King's Licence.

By the Favour and Licence of the King, dated the 25th April 1670, given at Paris and signed MASCLARAY: The Sieur BERNIER is permitted to print, sell and dispose of a book entitled Memoirs by the Sieur Bernier on the Empire of the Great Mogol, and this during the time and space of ten years; all persons of whatever rank and occupation they may be, are hereby forbidden to print, sell or otherwise dispose of any other editions than those of the said Sieur BERNIER, or others which he may authorise, under a penalty of a fine of three thousand livres, and other punishments which are set forth at length in the Letters of the said Licence.

The said Sieur Bernier has disposed of his Licence to Claude Barbin for his benefit, in terms of an agreement entered into between them.

Registered in the Book of the Society of Booksellers & Printers of Paris, the 13th August 1670. Signed, LOVIS SEVESTRE, Syndic.







APPENDIX L

Regarding Dryden's Tragedy of AURENG-ZEDE

Aureng-Zebe, A tragedy. Acted at the Royal Theatre. Written by John Dryden, Servant to his Majesty—is entered in the Stationers' Register on November 29th, 1675, and Malone is of opinion that it had probably been acted in the spring of that year. The dramatis personal and plot are as follows, from which, and from what follows, will be seen what poetical licence the Author has taken with the text of the History he used:

THE OLD EMPEROUR [in love with Indamora].

AURENG-ZEBE, his son [in love with Indamora].

MORAT, his younger Son [son of Nourmahal].

ARIMANT, Governour of Agra [in love with Indamora].

DIANET.

SOLYMAN AGAH, MIR BABA, ABBAS,

Indian Lords, or Omrahs of several Factions.

Asaph Chawn, Fazel Chawn,

NOURMAHAL, 1 the Empress.

INDAMORA, a captive Queen [of Cassimere, in love with Aureng-Zebe].

MELESINDA, wife to Morat.

ZAYDA, favourite Slave to the Empress.

Scene, Agra, in the year 1660.

The Emperour, who is 70 years of age, had been so ill that his death was expected—his four sons had taken up arms to contend for the Empire—Aureng-Zebe, who remains loyal to his Father, defeats

Núr Mahál was the wife of the Emperor Jahángir, and died, aged 72, in 1645. Muntár Mahál was Sháh Jahán's wife, and she died in 1631, and is buried in the Taj. Many compilers of books of Indian History have confounded the one with the other. Dryden has of course availed himself of a poet's licence.

two of his brothers and enters Agra, but without his forces; the Emperour endeavours to persuade Aureng-Zebe to resign Indamora to him—he refuses—and the Emperour admits Morat and his troops into the City, Aureng-Zebe is placed in confinement—Morat falls in love with Indamora—Nourmahal makes love to Aureng-Zebe—he rejects her advances with horror—she, in revenge, summons her mutes and offers him a cup of poison—Morat enters and takes away the cup. This is a passage which most of the critics who have discussed this Tragedy, but apparently without any knowledge whatever of Bernier's book, have thought unworthy of its Author. I do not think, however, that, after a careful permal of Bernier's narrative, their verdict will be generally concurred in, especially when it is borne in mind that Bernier's antire work formed the leit mostif, may a good deal more than that, of Dryden's drama. In support of this opinion, the passage in question, in Act tv., is here given:—

As he is going to drink, enter Moral, attended.

Mer. Make not such haste, you must my leisure stay: Your Fate's defear'd, you shall not die to-tay. [Taking the Cup from him.

Neur. What foolish pity has possess'd your mind, To alter what your prudence once design'd?

Mor. What if I please to lengthen out his date A day, and take a pride to cozen Fate?

Neur. "I will not be safe to let him live an hour.
Mer. I'll do't, to show my Arbitrary pow'r.

Now. Fortune may take him from your hands again,
And you repent th' occasion lost in vain.

Afor. I smile at what your Female fear foresees;
I'm in Fate's place, and dictate her Decrees.
Let Arimant be called.

Morat and his father quarrel—the Emperour reconciles himself to Aureng-Zebe—the latter defeats the forces of Monat—Nourmahal is going to stab Indamora, but is prevented by Morat—Morat dies of his wounds—Melesinda determines to burn herself on his funeral pile—Nourmahal poisons herself, and dies mad—the Emperour resigns Indamora to Aurenge-Zebe.

Dryden has of course taken great liberties with history, the manners and customs of the Indies, and so furth, but it is pleasing to see his keen appreciation of the gentus of Bernier, which is well illustrated in a passage which will be found at the end of the Tragedy, Act v.,

i Compare Ranshan Ará Begum's conduct towards her brother Dátá, when his fate was being decided, at p. 100.

where Morat's wife is about to become a Suttee. With this may be compared pp. 306-315 of Bernier's narrative:—

A Procession of Priests, Slaves following, and last, Melesinda in white.

Ind. Alas! what means this pomp?

Aur. 'Tis the Procession of a Funeral Vow,
Which cruel Laws to Indian Wives allow,
When fatally their Virtue they approve;
Chearful in flames, and Martyrs of their love.

Ind. Oh my foreboding heart! th' event I fear; And see! sad Melesinda does appear.

Mel. You wrong my love; what grief do I betray?
This is the Triumph of my Nuptial day.
My better Nuptials; which, in spight of Fate,
For ever joyn me to my dear Morat.
Now I am pleas'd; my jealousies are o'er:
He's mine; and I can lose him now no more.

Emp. Let no false show of Fame your reason blind. Ind. You have no right to die; he was not kind.

Mel. Had he been kind, I could no love have shown:
Each vulgar Virtue would as much have done.
My love was such, it needed no return;
But could, though he supplied no fuel, burn.
Rich in it self, like Elemental fire,
Whose pureness does no Aliment require.
In vain you would bereave me of my Lord;
For I will die: Die is too base a word;
I'll seek his breast, and, kindling by his side,
Adorn'd with flames, I'll mount a glorious Bride.

[Exit.

Davies, in his *Dramatic Miscellanies*, London 1784, pp. 157-158 vol. iii., styles it Dryden's last and most perfect tragedy in ryme:—'In this play the passions are strongly depicted, the characters were discriminated, and the diction more familiar and dramatic than in any of his preceding pieces. . . The Court greatly encouraged the play of Aureng-Zebe. The Author tells us, in his dedication, that Charles 11. altered an incident in the plot, and pronounced it to be the best of all Dryden's tragedies.' It was revived in 1708, 1709, and 1721, when it was performed on the 11th December at Druy Lane.

Addison considered Aureng-Zebe's complaint of the vicissitudes and disappointments of life, Act iv. Scene 1, the best lines in the play:—

Aur. When I consider Life, 'tis all a cheat;
Yet, fool'd with hope, men favour the deceit;

Trust on and think to-morrow will repay;
To morrow's falses than the former day;
Lies worse; and, while it says, we shall be blest
With some new joys, cuts off what we possest.
Strange courenage! none would live past years again,
Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain;
And, from the dregs of life, think to receive
What the first sprightly running could not give.
I'm tired with waiting for the Chymick Gold,
Which fools us young, and beggars us when old,

Davies tells us that he had heard Dr. Johnson highly commend the full and pertinent answer given by Nourmahal :-

Nowr. The not for nothing that we life pursue;
It pays our hopes with something still that 'a new sent day's a Mistris, unenjoy'd before;
Like Travellers, we're pleas'd with seeing more.
Did you but know what joys your way attend,
You would not hurry to your journey's end.

As stated in our Preface, Dryden founded his play on the English translation, 1671-72, of Bernier's Travels, and even a cursory perusal of his Tragedy will show many passages which are mere paraphrases, as to speak, of Bernier's text—a remarkable instance being met with in Act I. Scene i., where Arimant, Asaph Chawn, Fazel Chawn, and Solyman Agah are discassing the situation of affairs. In the coarse of their councils, they thus give their opinions as to the character of the Emperor's rebellious sons:—

Asaph. The name of Father hateful to him grows, Which, for one Son, produces him three foes.

Fazzi. Durah, the eldest, bears a generous mind;
But to implacable revenge inclined.
Too openly does Love and latted show;
A bounteous Master, but a deadly foc.

Selym. From Sujah's valour I should much expect,
But he 's a Biget of the Persian Sect.
And, by a Foreign Int'rest seeks to Reign.
Hopeless by Love the Sceptre to obtain.

Asaga. Morat's too insolent, too much a Brave, His Courage to his Envy is a Slave. What he attempts, if his endeavours fail T' affect, he is resolved no other shall.

Arim. But during Ede, by no strong passion sway'd, Except his Love, more temp'rate is, and weigh'd: This Atlas must our sinking State uphold; In Council cool, but in performance bold: He sums their Virtues in himself alone, And adds the greatest, of a Loyal Son: His Father's Cause upon his Sword he wears, And with his Arms, we hope, his fortune bears. Two vast Rewards may well his courage move, A parent's blessing, and a Mistris Love. If he succeed, his recompense, we hear, Must be the Captive Queen of Cassimere.

Which may be compared with pp. 6-11, of Bernier's text.

APPENDIX II.

On the identity of the 'Great Mogul's diamond' with the Koh-i-núr.

Catrou states that Mirza Mula (otherwise Mergi Mola) served for some time in the army of the Mogul (i.e. Shah Jahan) and rose to high command, but that, disgusted with the contempt of Prince Dárá, he entered the service of the King of Golconda, by whom he was appointed 'superintendent over the customs and the traffic of the King.' Profiting by so advantageous a post, and trading on his own account, he soon amassed immense wealth, which at first he used to gain the good graces of his master, procuring for him as presents rarities from Europe, cabinets from China, and elephants from Ceylon. 'His magnificence caused him to be taken notice of at Court, and as soon as he became known, he attained to the first distinctions. What brought him into chief notice was an intrigue of gallantry, which he carried on in private with the mother of the King. She was a princess who still preserved her beauty, at a rather advanced period of life. The King's acquaintance with the irregular conduct of his mother served only to advance the fortunes of Mirza Mula. He was sent to a distance from the Court. that the queen-mother might be prevented from giving occasion to scandal; and the government of the province of the Carnatic was bestowed upon him. The artful Persian knew how to turn his disgrace to his advantage. The diamond mine, which adds so much to the wealth of the kingdom of Golconda, was within the limits of his government. He consequently determined to make the best use of his time. He retained for his own use the largest and the most perfect

of the diamonds. One, which he gave in the sequel to the Mogul Emperor, was unparalleled in its kind. It is still the admiration of all

connuisseura."

Tavernier tells us that the Great Mogul's diamond was obtained by the Amir Jumla, from the Coulour (Kollúr) mine (Traveir, English Trans. by V. Ball, vol. il., p. 7a). Dr. V. Ball, now Director of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, but formerly of the Geological Survey of India, when in that country traced out by means of the routes given to it by Tavernier, who visited it personally, the position of this mine, which, known by its modern name Kollúr, is situated on the Kistna river in N. latitude 16° 42′ 30″, E. longitude 80° 5′, and on an old route from Masulipatan to Golconda (Haidarahad). This identification has since been further proved by the discovery of the remains of the old mining settlement at Kollúr.

The exact date of the discovery of the gem is not known, but about 1656 or 1657 it was presented, while still uncut, to Shah Jahan by Mir Jumia. It then weighed 756 English curats. Dr. Hall has shown that the carats used in his descriptions of stones by Tavernier were the

Florentine, the lightest of all carats. Vide p. 17, footnote 2.

Tavernier was invited by Aurangach to see all his lewels, and among them the great diamond, which he was allowed to examine, make a drawing of, and weigh. He found it to weigh 2681; English carats. The loss in weight is thus explained by Tavernier (vol. i. p. 396) :- 'If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the Sieur HORTENSIO BORGIO, a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly rewarded, for when it was cut be was reproached with having spoil the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the King fined him ten thousand rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the Sieur Honransto had understood his trade well, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the King, and without having had to much trouble grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.' By this latter phrase, Dr. Ball, in opposition to a view held by Mr. King and others, is of opinion that Tavernier meant, not that Hortensio might have defrauded the Mogul by taking off a large piece, but that he might with advantage have cleaved the stone instead of grinding it; the pieces so cleaved would then have been the property of the Mogul, not the perquisite of Hortensio. This, after a careful examination of the original text, appears to me also to be the correct reading.

In 1739 the diamond was plundered from Aurangaeb's descendant,

Muhammad Sháh, by Nadir Sháh when he sacked Delhi, and carried it away, with an immense amount of other loot, to Persia. On first beholding it he is reported to have conferred upon it the title Kek-i-mir ('Mountain of Light,' or Lustre), a most suitable name for the stone described by Tavernier as 'a round "rose," very high at one side, of beautiful water, and a splendid stone.'

Dr. Itali then traces its history through the hands of Ahmed Shih Durani in 1751, Shih Zaman in 1793, Shih Shuji in 1795, Ranjit Singh, in 1813, and, on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, to the custody of the British Government, by whom it was sent — John Lawrence, alterwards Lord Lawrence, having been for a short time its custodian—to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. It then weighed 186% caratt English, and Dr. Ball ascribes the less in weight, about 83 carats, to mutilation, to which it was subjected as he proves by the marks of cleavage apparent when it was received in England, and which took place, he believes, when in the possession of either Shih Rokh, Shah Zaman, or Shih Shuja, whose necessities may have caused them to have had pieces removed to furnish them with ready money.

In 1852 the Non-findr was exhibited in the first great Exhibition, and in 1852 the re-cutting of the stone was intrusted by Her Majesty to the Messus Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond-cutter from M. Coster's atelier at Amsterdam. The actual cutting lasted thirty-eight days, and by it the weight was reduced to 106% carats. The cost of the cutting amounted to £800.

APPENDIX III.

Tavernier's description of the Peacock Throne of the Great Mogal.

It should be stated that the Great Modul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp-beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more

than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubjes, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large bullets ! [belet in orig.] tuby, cut en cabuchon, with four emeralds round it, which form a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four bulger rubles surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed to to 12 cants in weight, all being showy stones, but very fist-There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to secend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows; and all these weapons. as also the cashions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively enriched.

I counted the large bules rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all calmichens, the least of which weighs 100 carati, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats and the least 30 carats. I counted about one hundred and sixteen (116); thus there are more emeralds

than robies.

The underside of the entropy is covered with diamonds and peatls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the estropy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious atmes, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carries or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne which is opposite the court there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the Kleg is scated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my opinion

I A correption of Balabkishaf, a popular form of Balabkishaf, because these rubies came from the famous mines on the Upper Oxus, in one of the districts subject to Badakhubia. A.C.

If Rubins of good quality weighing too expans would be weath more than diamonds of equal weight, but it is probable that these were not perfect in every respect. V. D.

is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is, that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. The umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by TAMERLANE and completed by SHÁH JAHÁN; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of what this great work has cost, have assured me that it amounts to one hundred and seven thousand lakks of rupees [sic] (i.e. 10,700,000,000), which amount to one hundred and sixty millions five hundred thousand liveres of our money (i.e. 160,500,000).

Behind this grand and magnificent throne there is placed a smaller one, which has the form of a bathing tub. It is of an oval shape of about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered over with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.—Travels, vol. i. pp. 487, 482.

381, 385.

APPENDIX IV.

Note on the letter to Monseigneur Colbert concerning the absorption of the precious metals in India.

Numberless writers have treated on the subject of the buried treasure of India, among others, Tavernier, who in his account of the Belief of the Idolaters touching the Condition of the Soul of man after Death, explains the reason for treasure being hoarded as follows:—

'There are some among them who are foolish enough to bury their treasures during their lifetime, as, for instance, nearly all the rich men of the kingdom of Assam, so that if they enter, after death, the body of any poor and miserable mendicant, they can have recourse to the money which they have buried in order to draw from it at necessity. This is the reason why so much gold and silver and so many precious stones are buried in INDIA, and an idolater must be poor indeed if he has not money buried in the earth.'—Travels, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205.

All recent authorities agree in stating that within the last fifty years

¹ As Dr. V. Ball has pointed out, there appears to be a cierical error here. The figure should be 107,000,000, namely one thousand and seventy lakks, which at \$\rightarrow\$ of a rupee to the livre would be equal to 150,500,000 livres, or £12,037,500, the rupee being 28. 3d. and the livre is. 6d.

there has been an enormous increase to the amount of capital lying idle in India, in the shape of hoarded treasure and in the ornamenta used by the people in all parts of that country, and one of the greatest of all Indian economic problems is the provision of means whereby the owners of this wealth could be induced to utilise part of it in such a way as would materially benefit themselves and others.

Mr. Clarmont J. Daniell, the well-known advocate for remonetising gold in India, estimates that at the beginning of the year 1889 there was 'lying in India a stock of gold buillon wholly useless for commercial purposes, and increasing at the rate of nearly three millions annually, of the value of not less than £270,000,000 at the market, being probably two and a half times as great as all the gold money in circulation in the United Kingdom, '—P. 249, of, cit.

In 1886-87 the Indian Government was able to utilise for coining purposes 31,837,783 obsolete silver coins which had been buried in pits and wells in the palace of the Mahárájá Scindia, and were thus credited as part of the sum farming the Gwalior Durbar loan, yielding interest, instead of remaining useless as they had done for a very long period.

Bernier did not fail to observe the large consumption of gold and silver in India for the making of jewellery, and in other articles of personal adortment; see pp. 223, 224. Of late years such a use of the precious metals has largely increased, and reliable and convincing evidence of this, as regards the Punjab, may be found in a recent account of the gold and silver works of the Punjab,2 compiled by Mr. E. D. Maciagan, B.C.S., who finds after careful investigation that the forty years' peace that Province has now enjoyed under British rale has brought about a threefold change in the goldsmiths' trade in that part of India, viz.; 'a decrease in the merely ostentations class of work; an increase but a concentration of the better forms of ornament industry, and a large development of the simplest and coarsest kinds. — Pirez. 12.

Mr. Maclagan concludes his very valuable and exhaustive Monograph as follows:-

THE PUTUAL OF GOLD AND SILVER ORNAMENTS.—'The use of ornaments appears in this country so universal, and to most minds so excessive, that the subject has attracted some attention from a social point of view. The Punjabi is probably as profuse in ornamentation as the native of any other part of the plains of India; foreigners in this Province at any rate, such as Parsis, Bangalis, and the like, are far

¹ The Industrial Competition of Aria. An Inquiry into the Influence of Currency on the Commerce of the Empire in the East. London. 1850.

² Monograph on the Gold and Silver Works of the Punjah. 1886-89. Published by Authority. Labore. 1890.

more sparing than the native Punjabi in the ornamentation of themselves and their wives. The actual amount of potential wealth that the native locks up in lewellery is something beyond conception. Europeans in dealing with the subject are far more inclined to underthan to over-value the amount of ornaments which a native family, in whatever rank of life, possesses. And yet every day in large civil cases, in suits for dower, in dealing with wards' estates, in cases of elopements, thefts, burglaries, murders, and a thousand other ways, civil officers are constantly being confronted with this enormous mass of wealth lying in the coffers of the people. A competent authority guesses that in Amritsar city alone there are lewels to the value of two million pounds sterling. In Kulu the ornaments are estimated at a lakh-and-a-balf; and the gold and silver attached to dietas (idols and their shrines] at three lakhs. The Jullandur estimate is four lakhs, which is probably below the mark; that of Montgomery-fifty lakha -is possibly above it. In Jhelum two-fifths of the wealth of the district is said to be in ornaments. If we estimate the existing ornaments at twelve times the annual out-turn, those of the Gurgáon District must be valued at over ten lakls. In Dera Ismail Khan, at five rapees to each woman, the ornaments of the district must exceed ten lakhs in value; and we should probably add two lakhs to this estimate for the ornaments in the families of the Nawabs and other Raises [Gentry]. In Kohat, again (probably one of the poorest districts of the Province in this respect), the estimate is taken at Rs. Soo for each Hindú family, and Rs. to for each Mussalmán family, and a lakh in spuregate for the Nawab and other Raises; making a total for the district of seventy-five lakhs. This estimate is doubtless an exaggeration, but even a more exact calculation would probably surprise us in its results. These isolated instances will serve better than any formal estimate to show the extent to which the system is carried in the Province.

'The main evil which is laid at the door of this system is the loss of wealth. Another is the incentive to crime; in Dera Ismail Khan, for instance, it has been calculated that in one year, out of 968 cases of burglary, house-breaking, and datolty, \$24 were connected with jewellery. Advocates, therefore, of economic and social progress look forward to a diminution of the stock of ornaments in the country, and it is not improbable that under our rule such a diminution will take piace. The steps taken to reduce marriage expenses will doubtless do something, though perhaps not very much, in the direction. The apread of English or Anglicised education will probably do more; for it is noticed that the classes so educated are on the whole simple in their habits in this respect. And if anything occurs to give a general impetus to commercial enterprise and mutual confidence, opening opportunities for investment, the use of ornaments may be extensively diminished. But

any such changes can only be most gradual, and there are obstacles in their way. The "female vote" is one. The enormous respect for jewellety among the people as a criterion of respectability is another. And the distinctly agricultural, and the commercially unenterprising character of the class which mainly upholds the system is another. There is no fear, therefore, of the practice of unamentation dying out; and the position of the randers (workers of gold or silver jewellery) appears a fairly assured one. European competition has as yet had bitle influence on the articles prepared for native custom. False jewellery, except in large towns or among the very poorest classes, is not largely sought after. The general character of the popular type of gold and silver work is rough and unfinished: it is more likely to improve than to deteriorate, and for its improvement it is at present being left to itself."

Manacci, the Venetian Doctor, from whose Memoirs I have frequently quoted, gives a very graphic picture of the buried treasures

of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the following words :-

As the Emperor grew old, his passions changed with his years. Avarice took the place of prodigality. It may be said, that this passion equalled, or even surpassed, all his other vices. He rewarded the principal officers of his court and of the armies by permitting them to plander the people with impunity, and as soon as the Omrhas [zic] had become enriched by their extortions, the Emperor seized on their wealth, and appropriated to himself the spoil. In order to preserve with greater security the immense wealth, which tributes and extortions augmented every year, he caused to be constructed, under his palace of Dely, two deep caves, supported by vast marble pillars. Piles of gold were stored in the one, and of silver in the other; and to reader more difficult any attempt to convey away his treasure, he caused, of both metals, pieces to be made of so prodigious a size as to render them useless for the purposes of commerce life, currencyl. In these caves Cha-laham passed a great part of the day, under the nretence of enjoying their refreshing coolness; but, in reality, for the curpose of feasting his eyes on the prodigious wealth he had accumulated."

At a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held at Calcutta on the 3d January 1833, the Vice-President, the late Hon. Mr. Gibbs, C.S.I., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., exhibited a drawing and an exampage of a 'two-hundred gold mobur piece' struck by the Emperor Shah Jahan 'in the Paluce of Shah Jehanahad' [Delhi, see my text, p. 241.] A.H. 1064 [A.D. 1653]. The drawing and estampage were sent by General Conningham, who, in a note accompanying them, was of opinion that the coin was a piece used for the purpose of presentation to the Emperor by a Noble as a musicar (or ceremonial present from an inferior to a superior). Manucci's account, which I believe has been hitherto over-

looked, is, as will be seen, somewhat different. For a facsimile drawing of the two hundred gold mohur piece, intrinsically worth, probably, £450 sterling, see p. 3, Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, for 1883.

APPENDIX V.

Some particulars relating to Mr. H[enry] O[uldinburgh].

For a long time I was unable to discover the name of the Translator of the first English edition, 1671-1672, of Bernier's Travels, simply stated as H. O. on the title-page thereof. At last, when examining the 1684 edition, No. 10 of the Bibliography, I found out that it was Henry Ouldinburgh.

Other investigations followed, and at length I identified the translator as the first Secretary of the Royal Society. By the gracious permission of the President and Council of that Society I was permitted to examine the Oldenburg (for so he spells his name) MSS. in their possession, where in a letter-book—M. I., and indexed as 62—I found a transcript, 6 pp. folio, of the portion of the letter from M. de Monceaux, which is printed in the first volume of the History of the late Revolution, etc., London, 1671, as 'giving a character of the book here Englished, and its author,' and which I have reprinted at pp. xlix.-li. of my edition.

This transcript, in a contemporary hand, not that of Henry Oldenburg, however, is headed Extraict d'une Lettre de | Monsieur De Monceaux | A Monsieur Oldenbourg Secretaire—De la societe Royale | and is dated Paris, 26th July 1670, not 16th as printed in the London edition of 1671, an error which has been copied in all subsequent issues.

I am also permitted by the Council of the Royal Society to reprint the following biographical sketch of their first Secretary, which was compiled in 1860 by Charles Richard Welch, Assistant Secretary and Librarian, in connection with a descriptive catalogue of the portraits in the possession of the Society:—

Henry Oldenburg, F.R.S., Painted by Johnvan Cleef, born at Bremen 1626, died at Charlton, Kent, 1676.

'Oldenburg descended from the Counts of Oldenburg in Westphalia, from whom he derived his name. He came to England as Consul for Bremen, and on losing that appointment undertook the education of Lord O'Brien. In 1656 he entered as student in the University of Oxford, and while there made the acquaintance of those philosophers who originated the Royal Society. On the incorporation of this

Institution Oldenburg was appointed Secretary. He performed the duties of his office with extraordinary zeal, carried on an extensive correspondence with learned foreigners, and published the Philosophical Transactions from 1664 to 1677, contributing largely to them himself. His constant epistolary communication with foreign savants, sometimes carried on under the anagrammatic name of Grubendol, led to his being suspected of treasonable practices, and to his imprisonment in the Tower. He was, however, quickly liberated. His correspondence, so far as preserved, has been of the greatest importance in all questions relating to the scientific history of the time.

'Towards the close of his life he was much distressed by a controversy with Hooke respecting the mechanism of watches, which was terminated by the Council deciding in his favour. His portrait represents him holding a watch in his hand, probably in allusion to this controversy.'

For the following account of the Oldenburg portrait I am indebted to Mr. George Scharf, C.B., the Keeper and Secretary of the National Portrait Gallery, who, through his assistant Mr. L. G. Holland, caused it to be examined for the purpose, and whose description is as follows:—

A life-sized figure, seen to the waist, turned to the right [spectator's], face seen in three-quarters to the left, his dark chestnut eyes look piercingly at the spectator, with a severe expression, thick aquiline nose, thin dark grey eyebrows, tanned complexion, fat cheeks and full neck, double, cloven chin, compressed thin lips and peculiar long scanty dark moustaches, which only cover the middle space between his nostrils and upper lip. His dark auburn hair is parted in the middle and hangs down in masses on each side to his shoulders. His dress is of sombre black, only relieved by a broad lie-down collar and cuffs of blue-grey. His right hand rests on a table holding a gold watch-case, the upper lid of which is open, by a handle: while his left hand, displaying a ring on the little finger, is raised to his left breast. The shadows are very dark, and background plain dark brown.'

I When examining the Oldenburg MSS. I chanced to find the following passage in the 'office copy' of a letter, dated London, June 30th, 1669, and addressed to Mr. George Cotton in Rome, concerning a philosophical correspondence:—'And I would desire that the Inscription of your Letters to mee may only run thus:—A Monsieur Monar. Grubendol, A Londres: No more but soe, and all will come more safely to my hands, than if they were directed to my owne name.' A. C.







INDEX

Abde (Abah), presented to Abyminian

Embassy, 139 and M.

Abdullah Kuth-Shah, Sultan of Golkonda, 18 n. 19; betrayed by Mir Jumla, 19, 20.

Acher (Achera), Hindoo name of 'God,'

325 and m.

- (The Immovable), 347.

Ardem (Acheen), in Sumarra, 203 m. Achiavel (Achibal), Royal Gardens, etc.,

of, at 3 and w.

Adalet-Kunay, Justice Chamber, 263. Adrican (Dirk Van Adrichem), director of Dutch factory at Surat, 127 #; received by Aurangueb, 127, 128.

Agra, account of city of, 254; differences between Dehli and, 284, 285; houses of Gentile merchants in, 285; Jesuit Church in, 286; Dutch factory at, 292, 293; Tomb of Akhar at, 293; Tomb of Taj Mahál at, 293 seg.

- Chalt-hest-kan, appointed Gover-

nor of, 66.

- Christian Church at, destroyed

by Shih Jahan, 177, 287.

- fortress of, seized by Sultan Mahmond, 61, 62.

- Province, revenue of, 436.

Aguacy-did (Abdadiah), 'aky-iamp,' 369 and a.

Akhar (Ekhar) the Great, departments of State organised by, 216 n.

- believes in truth of Christianity, 287 m. - captures Chittor, 257 w; foud

of sport, 262 m. - encourages shawl industry in

Kashmir, 403 #. - tomb of, near Agra, 293 and w. Alachas or striped silken stuns, 139.

- nilk stuffs interwoven with gold and allver, 120 ".

Albérûnt, Moslem historian, quoted, 431

Alexander the Great, 383.

All Naki a Saped, put to death by Murad Bakhsh, 108 and st.

Allah-Couly, bribed by Aurangzeb, 68. Allah-verdi-kan (diemaral A Adm).

governor of Patna, 77 m. Aly Merdankan (Ali Mardin A'dan), governor of Kandahar, 184 and #, 185.

Ambas (Skt. amra), North Indian name for mangue, 249 m.

Ambrose, Capuchin missionary, house of, at Strat, spared by Sivaji, 188.

Amed-Abad (Akmadabid), city of, 73. 74. 12.

Am-Kas (Am-Khas), place of audience, 250, 261, 263, 266, 268; dancing girls salute the Mogol in the, 274.

- tent of justice, 360, 362, 365, 370. Anamas fruit (pine apples) preserved in Bengal, 43S.

Anaporam, brother of King of Aracan, 178 M.

Anasotny, Hindoos ignorant of, 339. Anil (Arab. ol-mil), indigo, 283 and m. Antelopes hunted with leopards, 376,

Arec, spint distilled from unrefined

augur, 253, 441.

- used in Bengal, 441 and m.

Amean (Rakan), punitive expedition by Shainta Khan against King of, 174. 179, 182 and n.

Armenians, compete with Dutch in trade, 292.

Artillery of Aurangaeb, 352, 353.

- of the Mogol's army, 217, 318. Arts in India, condition of, 228, 254 255, 250.

Ashtumeda (Horse sacrifice), shield with story of the, 255 m.

Assam, war with Rájá of, 171-173. Astrologers of Dehil, juggiery of, 243.

Autology in India, implicit belief in,

161-163.

Astronomy, ideas of Hindoo on, 339. Augana (Afghans), mountaineers on Persian frontier, 205, 206, 219.

Aureng-abad, revenue of, 457.

Aureng-tebe (Aurengach), son of Great Mogol, 5 n. 7, 10; appointed governor of the Deccan, 15; invades kingdom of Golkonda, 20, 21; aspires to throne of Shah Jahan, 26.

gains over Sulaimán Shikoh's troops to his cause, 53; arrives at Agra, 60; appoints Etbarkan governor of Agra fortress, 64; defends his conduct in a letter to Sháh Jahán, 64.

— persuades Murád Bakhsh to joln him, 27; wins over Mir Jumla, 29, 30; advances on Agra, 33; crosses river near Burhánpur, 36; gains buttle

near Narbadá river, 38, 39. treachery of, to Murad Bakhsh, 66-68; bribes officers and army against

do., 69.

receives troops of Murád Bakbah into his service, 70; bribes Rájá Jesseingue, 72, 731 gains battle of

Khajūa, 75-78.

— imprisons his son Muhammad in Gwalior, 83; warns his second son Sultan Mu'azzam, 84; imprisons Murád Bakhsh in Gwalior, 85; advances against Dárá al Ajmere, 86.

consents to Dárá's death, 101; sends Dárá's head to Sháh Jahán,

103 N.

mbassy from Usine Tartars to, 116 seq.; presents ambassadors with rich serupaki, etc., 118, 120; sefred with illness, 123; wives of, 126 s; receives embassy from the Dutch, 127

incessant occupations of, 129, 130; receives embassies from different countries, 133; gives presents to Ethiopian embassy, 139; aids rebuilding of mosque in Abyssinia, 140.

selects preceptor for Sultan Akbar, 144; receives embassy from Persia, 146; presents to, from Persia, 147. 145; letters from King of Persia to.

Aurong rebe, demeans himself to Persian embassy, 151; orders ambassador to be intercepted at frontier, ib.; reception of his teacher Mullah Salé by, 154; discourse on classical (Arabic) educa-

tion of youth by, 155-161.

pardoned by Shah Jahan, 166: correspondence between, 166 n. 167, 168; on the duties of kings, 168; at war with Assam, 171-173; orders Sultan Mu'azzam to kill a lion, 182, 183; rewards Mahahat Khan, 183.

appoints governors of provinces,
 186; cashiers Nejabathan, ib.; appoints Sivaji a Rājā, 190; forgives

Begum Saheh, 198.

body-guard of, 352; travelling carriages of, 370.

entry into Kashmir, 391, 392, embasy to, from Great Tibet, 422. Dryden's Tragedy of, 465-469, Ava, attempted capture of, by Chinese,

235 and at.

Azam Khán shoebeaten by Sháh Jahán, 53 M.

Asam, Prince Muhammad's son, steals Mursd Bakhsh's weapons, 68 z. Azo, fortress of, captured by Mir Jumla,

173, 173.

Ban - EL - Mandel. (Bab - el - Mandeb), Straits of, 2, 3, 448.

Raganala, revenue of, 458.

Raginguer (Bhdgnagar), City of, 19 n. Bajarel (Sultan Baiarid 1, of Turkey), 167 and n.

Ralasor, Port of, in Orissa, 441 and n. Balass (Balashishad) rables, 472 and n. Ball (Dr. Valentine), History of Kohingridiamond by, 470, 471.

Ralouches, mountaincers on Perslan frontiers, 205, 206, 219.

Banyane, name applied to foreign traders, 164

- Gentile merchants, houses of, in Agra, 285.

Banyan-trees in India, 309 4 Barameulay (Baramula), mosque and

sacred stone at, 414, 415-

Barattes (Bardts), orders for payment

of money, 216 and m.

Barbin (Claude), receives transfer of rights of publication from Bernier, xxi. Bassora, embassy from Prince of, to Aurangueb, 133.

Bastian Consalve. See Sebastian Gon-

gales Tibao. Batavia, governor of, co-operates against pirates of Chittagong, 180, 181.

- governor of, 128 m.

Baute (Buddha), religion of, 336 and w. Bawan, Sacred Spring at, 410 and se, 452 M.

Basar-bread of Dehli, 354 and m,

Basar dealers, 43 and w.

--- in camp of Great Mogol, 365, Becken (Fishum), the preserver,

Bidmunk, cases of, presented to Au-

rangzeb, 147 and m.

Region-Saheb, daughter of Great Mogol. 5. 11 et seg. ; amours of, 12, 13; referred to, 21, 25, 57, 61. - influence of, over Shah Jahan, 6;;

confined in fortress of Agra, 64.

- presents Aurangreb with precious stones, 199.

— builder of a Serai near Delhi, 280.

Beig (Bey) of the Red Sea, 1 m.

Bamber (Bhimbar), town of, 385 m; description of, 390 and #: Bernier's journey from, 405 sec.

Benares, schools of, 334, 335.

- temple at, 141 m. Bengal, fertility, wealth, and beauty of kingdom of, 437 et 1eg.; sugar pro-

duced in, 437; fruit in, 438; fowls, io. ; Jesuits in, 439; cotton and silks of, ie., 440; saltpetre, 440; export of ghee, the

- wines used in, 441; islands of, 442. Bernard, French physician at Court of,

Jahangir, 274, 275.

Bernier (François), birth of, xix; baptism of, ib.; European travels of, io, ; matriculates at Montpellier, xx ; takes his degree, il.; tends Gassendi in his last illness, io. ; visits Egypt, and has the plague, ich; sails for Surat, id. ; minimary of Indian travels, id, and axi.

Bernier, quits Grand Cairo, 11 detained at Gidda, to, t reaches Moka, 2; arrives at Surate (Surat), 4.

- at Marseilles, xxi; receives licence to print, th.; transfers rights in his book to Claude Barbin, ie.; visits England, ib.; death of, ib., and writ; legacies bequeathed by, xxii; dedication of his book to King, xiv, xivi; epistle to reader, xlvii : bibliography. XXY MQ.

- account of army of Dára, 47, 48 account of battle of Samugarh by

49-54 ; comments on, 55.

- remarks on enpiure of Agra by Sultan Mahmoud, 62, 63; on conduct of Sultan Mu'azzam, 55.

- accompanies Dará in his flight, So, oo; detained by 'Koullys,' or,

account of reception of Usbec ambassadors by Aurangzeb, 116 105.; on habits of the Unbecs, 119-121; bravery of Usbec women, 122-1231 receives audiassador from Abyminia, 138; promised a rebrankin, 144; comments on the upbringing of princes, 144-145.

 on philosophy of the Hindoos, 160. - account of kingdom of Kandahar, 15; 107.; obtains copy of History

of Kashmir in Persian, 186.

- returns to France, 198; Letter to Colbert, 200; account of Mogol army, 209-220; in service of an Oment, 213. - on wealth and income of Great Mogol, 221-223; on slavery and salejection of the peasantry of India, 225, 226, 230; on neglect of tillage, etc., 226, 227; on enalayed condition of Egypt, 227, 228.

- on neglect of education and commerce in India, 229, 230; on sale of governments in India and Persia, 230-232; on degraded condition of Turkey, 2341 Letter to Monsiour de

la Mothe le Vayer, 239-299.

- compares Delhi to a military encampment, 246; on meat and bread of Dehll, 250, 251; on living in Dehli, 252; tastes wine at Amen-Abad and Golkanda, 252; on price of wine 254; on native painters, 255,

Bernier, on flattery among the Hindoos, 264, 265; account of seraglio, 267; account of throne of great Mogol, 268, 269; describes elephant combat, 276 et seg. ; account of chief mosque, the Jama Masjid at Dehli, 278 109.

- necount of Agra, 28a of say, ; on the Jesuits and their missions, 286, 289 et seq.; description of mausoleum of Taj Mahal, 203 et seg.; Letter to Monsieur Chapelain, 300-349.

- on two solar eclipses, 300-303; account of festival of Juggernaut, 304, 305, 306; widow burning witnessed by, 306-315; witnesses funeral rites on the Ganges, 316; translates Descartes into Persian, 324.

- on religious books and beliefs of

Hindoos, 325 sey.

- questions Pundits on nature of Hindoo gods, chronology, etc., 341-345; on ductrines of Hindons, 346-349 : Letter to M. Chapelle, 349 m.

- first letter to Monsieur De Merveilles, 350-357; equipment of, 353; second letter to Monsieur De Merveilles, 358-382.

- the league (lient) of, 367 m; loses

his way in camp, 368, 369.

- third letter to M. de Merveilles, 383, 384; description of Labore, 384; fourth letter to M. de Merveilles, 385; fifth letter to M. de Merveilles, 350, 387; crosses river Chinab, ib. and my sixth letter to M. de Merveilles, 388; seized with illness, ib.

- seventh letter, to M. de Merveilles 389; auffers from intense heat, ib., 300; eighth letter to M. de Merveilles. 390-392; ninth letter to M. de Merveilles, 393 et seg.; on beauty of Kashanir women, 404, 405; account of journey from Bhimbar to Kashmir, 405 et 107.

- crosses Ratun Mountains, 406 and n; crosses Pir Panjal Pass, 407 et seq. ; visits sacred spring at Bawan, 410 and n, 411; on origin of, 412 and n. 413; visits gardens of Achibal, 413; visits gardens of Vernag. ib. n. 414: visits shrine and mosque at Baramula, 414-

- takes part in lifting sacred stone

at mosque of Baramula, 415, 415; visits Wular Lake, 416 and w; account of bubbling spring, 417, 418; visits Lake Gungabal, 418 and n; account of kingdom of Kashgar, 426 res. ; on Iews in Kashmir and China. 429 and n, 430.

Bernier, on periodical rains in India, 431 at set; on regularity of currents of the sea and winds in Indies, 434 et ssy. ; on fertility, wealth, and beauty of Bengal, 437 et seg. : witnesses a

lunar rainbow, 444, 445.

caught in a storm, 445, 446; on periodical rising of the Nile, 446 et request illness of, in Egypt, 451; account of revenue of Great Mogol, 455 of seg. ; abstract of the French king's licence to print his travels, 461.

- letter to Monseigneur Colbert,

note on, 473 107.

Bethr (Vedss) religious books of the Hindoos, 325 and w, 335; on the creation of the world, 328 and n.

Betel (Piper betel, Lin.), 13 H. Bet-II (Betel) chewal to sweeten the

breath, 253, 364.

Bhadur-Kan (Bahddur Kadu), conducts Dará through streets of Delhi, 98,

Blanck (Vyapaka), all pervading, 344

and w. 348. Bibliography of Bernier's Travels and other works, xxv seg.

Bider (Rhier) captured by Aurangreb,

22 and M, 197 M.

Bilathi, Pathan water-carrier, 207 m. Billah (Bi'llahi), 'By God,' 153 n. Bisnaguer (Vijayanagar), kingdom of,

Bokhara prunes (Alú Bokhara), 118 m. Boulepongs (punch), of Bengal, 441 and

Brahma, the eternal creative power, 325 M.

Brumu of Pegu, cruelties of, 234 and m 235.

Brampour (Burkdupur), city of, 31 #; river, crossed by Aurangreb at 3b. Buddhists of Tibes, sects of, 423 #.

Barning of widows, account of custom 06, 306-315.

Buzée (Reverend Father), 6, 7 n; attends on Dárá in his last moments 101 1, 244, 289.

CABOUL (Kabul), Mir-Kan appointed governor of, 186.

- revenue of, 457.

Calil-ullah-Kan commands Dárá's right wing at Samúgarh, 4S; treachery of, to Dárá, 52-54; shoebeaten by Dárá, 53; offers his services to Aurangzeb, 56; urges Dárá's being put to death, 100.

Camp of Great Mogol, number of people

in, 380, 381.

Candahar, revenue of, 456.

Candeys (Khandish), revenue of, 458. Capuchin missionaries in India, 289. Caste, divisions of Hindoos into, 325,

and n.

Catay, name of a country other than

China, 155 n.

Caucasus mountain range, 395 n. Chah Abas (Khwaja Shahbaz), lays siege to Castle of Surat, 28 and n; cautions Murád Bakhsh against Aurangzeb, 32.

Chah-Abas (Shah 'Abbas the Great),

King of Persia, 150 n.

- trees planted by astrologers of, 162, 163.

Chah-Hestkan (Shaista Khan), uncle

of Aurangzeb, 13 n.

Chah-hest-kan (Sháista Khán), uncle of Aurangzeb, promotes his views, 56.

- appointed governor of Agra, 66; urges Dárá's being put to death,

- nominated governor of the Decan, etc., 174, 186; undertakes expedition against King of Arakan, 174, 179 et seq.; wins over pirates of Chittagong, 1S1, 1S2.

Chah-Jehan (Shah-Jahan), the great Mogol, 3, 4 n; has secret correspondence with Aurangzeb, 16; referred to, 21; illness of, 24, 25; referred to, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43.

- proposes assuming command against Aurangzeb, 44; influenced by Begum Sahib, 63; delivers up keys of Agra, 63; confined in the

fortress, 64; accused of sending money to Dárá, 64, 65. Chah-Jehan, refuses Aurangzeb certain

jewels, 127.

- arrogance of Persian ambassador

10, 151-153.

- outwitted by Neik-nam-Kan, 164; pardons Aurangzeb, 166: letters to, from Aurangzeb, 167, 168.

- punishes Portuguese of Hughli, 176, 177 and n; demolishes churches at Agra and Lahore, 177, 287.

- death of, 198 and n.

- city of Jehan Abad built by, 241. See Dehli, account of the city of.

- encourages dancing girls, 273, 274.

- invades Little Tibet, 421; attempts conquest of Great Tibet, 422.

Chali-limar (Shahlamar), country house of Mogol, 283 and n.

- country residence of Aurangzeb,

351. - (Shálamár) Gardens, Kashmir,

399 and n, 400.

Chah-Navaze-Kan (Shahnawaz Khan), father-in-law of Aurangzeb, 73 ns; receives Dárá at Ahmadabád, 74; betrays him to Aurangzeb, 87; slain in battle of Deorá, ib.

Chamdara, city of, captured by Mir

Jumla, 172.

Chapelain, letter from Bernier to Monsieur, customs, etc., on

Hindoos, 300-349. Chapelle (Claude-Emmanuel Luillier), letter to, from Bernier, 349 n.

Chardin, celebrated French traveller, 312 %.

Chatigon (Chittagong), pirates inhabi-

tants of, 174-176. Chatresale (Rájá Chhattar Sál), commander in Dárá's army at Samúgarh, 48; killed in the battle, 51.

Chauth levied by Marathas, 460.

Cheetah, hunting leopard, 375 and n. Cheker (Shigar), town of, 427.

Chempet (Champat Rál), chief of the Bundelas, 46 and n.

Cherif (Shereef) of Mecca, embassy from, to Aurangzeb, 133 and n.

Cherky (Charkhi), fireworks used to separate fighting elephants, 277 n.

Chias (Shiahs), Mogul courtiers of the sect of, 209, 211.

China, Tartar conquest of, 121 n. China and Matchine (Tchins et Marchine, 156 n.

China-wood (China-root), 425 n-

China, first settlement of Jews in 429

Chittor, captured by Akhar, 257 m. Christianity, favoured by Akhar and

Jahángir, 287 and w.

Christians in India, irreverent behaviour in churches of, 292,

Chronology among the Hindoos, 343. Churches, at Agra and Lahore, destroyed by Shah Jahan, 177, 287.

Civet, born filled with, sent to Aurang-

reb. 135, 137, 144-

Colbert, note on Bernier's letter to,

Comory (Kumári, Comorin), Cape, 23

Comori (Comorin), Cape, 192 m.

Compass, mariner's, used for purposes of divination in China, 244 n.

Constantinople, beauty of view of, 286. Cotolial (Grand Provost), guards mounted by, 369.

Court (Kurs) or Standards carried on march, 371 and w.

Cow held in great respect in India, 326

Cranes, manner of hunting, 377. Currents of the sea in the Indies,

regularity of, 434 sey.

DARIE (Dable-ul-Mulh), court official, 20 n.

Dacca, capital of Bengal, 171, 181, and

D'Acosta, Joseph, Superior of the Jesuits in Agra, 288 n.

Damascus Cutlasses, presented to Aurangreb, 148. Danechmend-Kan(DanithmandKhán),

Persian merchant, 4 st, 100.

— appointed governor of Delhi, 186.
— studies of, 353.

- endeavours to convert Bernier,

Daoud-Kan, commander in army of Sulaiman Shikoh, 59 and st.

Dark (Dárd Shitoh), con of Great

Mogol, 5 n, 6, 7; suspects Aurangeeb 10: appointed governor of Caloul and Moultan, 15; reigns with his father, 15 n, 21, 25.

Dárá, concerned in death of Sádullah-

Khan, 23, 24.

assembles two armies against his brothers, 34; numbers of, 43; dissunded from attacking Aurangaeb, 44; reasons for attacking, 45; takes the field against Aurangach, 46, 47; bravery of, at Samugarh, 49, 50.

 defeated, 54 and n; marriage and family of, 57 n, to3 n; departs with

family for Dehli, 57, 58.

advances on Lahore, 70: seeks refuge in fortress of Tata-bakar, 71. 73: European gunners in army of, 73: admitted into city of Ahmadabád, 74.

quits Guzarate with army, 85; advances on city of Ajmere. 86; defeated at battle of Deorá, 85; retreats to Ahmadalád, 89; retreats again to Tata-bakar, 91; made prisoner by Mällk Jiwan, 96, 97; delivered to Aurangzeb, 97.

- Mulla Shah, spiritual guide of,

134 77.

Upanishads translated into Persian by authority of, 323 n, 324.
 Heresy of, 345 n.

- referred to, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34,

35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 64, 65. Daulet-Abad (Daulatifold), Fort of, 19

n: Aurangreb to reside at, 24.
Days (Dhye), curdled milk, 354 and s.
Decantion, war-cry of Mir Jumla, 76.

Decean, proverbial saying anent the,

Dedication to King of France, alv.

Dek Hanny, lord of ten thousand home, 212.

Delhi (Dehli), Danechmend-Kan, appointed governor of, 186.

Fortifications of, 242; catadel of,

242, 257-258; garden and square of, 241; Bazar held in square, see; areades and merchants' houses in. 245; thatched cottages in, 246; fires

frequent in, ro.

Belhi, dwellings of Omraha in, 246,247; construction of houses in, 247, 248; shorts of, 245, 249; fruit market of, 240; confectioners' shops in, 250; bakers in, ib. ; thesh most sold in, ib., 31 : fowls and fish in, 251, 252.

- price of wine in, 253: Seraglio and royal apartment in, 250 and a ; statues of Rajas Jaimal and Patta of Chittor in 256, 257 and #; streets in, 245, 246, 257, 258; canal in,

257, 255.

-place of audience in, 259, 261, 263. - sacked by Nadir Shih, 269 #: Throne of Great Mogol at, 268, 269; Mosque, the Jama Masjid, 278 seg. 1 Seral of, 280, 281; population of, 281, 282,

- country around, extremely fertile 284; compared with Agra, 284, 285. - hazar bread of, 354 and #, 387; water of, 355; distance from Labore,

348.

- province of, revenue of, 450.

Delale (Dilidl), Gentile Broker, 188, 180 m.

Delli-kan (Diler Kada), 35 m; plunders Sulaimán Shikoh's baggage, 60.

Dears, Battle between Aurangreb and Dara at, 87, 88.

Deute (Destah), an incarnate deity,

causes eclipses, 303. Dentat, sun, moon and store called, 340. 340; nature of the, 344. 348.

Deen (Arab. jums), evil spirit, 217. Danguer (Yugar) of Hindoos, 343 and

Diamond, Great, of Great Mogol identical with the Koh-l-nur, 469-471.

Dianet-Kan appointed governor of Kashmir, 180.

Didar-Kan, principal conuch of the Sernglio, amount of, 131; mardered,

13% Doctors of Gos, 338 m.

Dougarich Hazary, lord of twelve thousand horse, 212.

Den Hanry, lord of two thousand borse, 212.

Dryden's Tragedy of Aureng-Zebr, 465-

Dilb grass (Cynoden Daetylen), 382 and se

Dutch, teach Murad Bakhah military mining, 31.

- lay embargo on Golkonda merchant vessels, 195, 196.

-factories of, in Agra and Lucknow,

202 and a ; trade of, 293. Silk factory of, in Bengal, 440.

EARTHOUAKES In Kashmir, 305 m.

Everks or Ethiopia, embassy from King of, to Aurangeeb, 133; personnel of embassy, 134; plandered, 137; received by Aurangreb, 138, 139.

Eclimes witnessed by Barnier, 300: caused by an incarnate deity, 303.

Egypt an enslaveil country, 227, 228. Eledeta (Azhdaka), dragon insignia,

Elubas (Ilahbas), Allahabad, victory of Sulaiman Shikoh near, 36 and st.

- Mir haba appointed governor of, 156.

--- (evenue of, 457.

El Bahrein, Persian Gulf, pearl fahery al, 204, N.

Elephants, combats between, 276, 277. 278 and m.

Emasculation of cunuchs, 131, 132. Embargo Isid on Golkonda merchant

vessels by Dutch, 195, 196. Embary (Amari), Murad Bakhah confined in an, 69; Sultan Muham-

mad confined in an, 83.

Emir-Jemla (Mir Jumla, Mir Atukammod Said Ardastant), 16, et avg., 16 Aurangzen, 10, 20.

- presents the Alek-Aler diamond to Shah-Jahan, zz and a; pretended

imprisonment of, 29, 30.

joins Aurangueb at battle of Khajaa, 75; war cry of, 76; sent against Sultan Sujuh, 70 : goes into winter quarters at Rajmahal, St.

- defeata Sultan Sujah, 169; created principal Amir, 174; confirmed in Government of Hengal, in a offered management of war against Assam, 171; death of, 173,

Esteroic (Sharetil), capital of Little

Tibet, 427 and a.

Etharkan appointed governor of fortrem of Agra, 64: cruelty of, to Shah Jahan, 125.

Ethiopia (Abysania), no coined money

111, 139,

- Polygamy in, 142, 143; numerous children of king of, 143.

- Account of source of Nile by Ambussadors of, 447 reg.

Eugenes (Ujjain, Ujein) (the Nerlandda). crossed by Aurangreb, 35 m.

FACTORY, Dutch, in Agra, 293, 293. Fairs held in the royal semglio, 272 and w 273; opposed by orthodox Moslems 273 14.

Fakir of Pir Panjal Pass, 432, 410, 414. Fakires (fakirs), religious devotees,

317, 318, 321, 322,

Farmin (concession), obtained from

Aurangzel by Dutch, 127, 129. Fazelkan appointed Grand Chamberlain, 186.

Feday-Kan (Faial Khin), foster-brother to Aurangreb, 124 e.

Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, travels of in Pegu. 234 a.

Feringhees of Chittagong, 182 m.

Feringhi mahal, Frank's quatter at Lucknow, 292 m.

Find (or Fludd). Robert, Physician and Rosicracian, 346 N.

Fra-Joan, an Augustine monk, rules in Sundeep, 179.

Frangula (Firinghaes), 3 m.

Françuistan, name for Europe, 155. Franks allowed free access to palace in

time of Jahangir, 274 st.

French, superstition of, concerning colioses, 300, 30L

Fruit imported into India, 203, 204. Fruit sold in Dehli, variety of, 249, 250.

GALEASES, half-lecked boats, 109 n. Galleauses of pirates of Chittagong, 175, 179, 181.

Gamen (Jummoo), Raja of, 395 n. Ganges water for use of Mogul, 221 w. Ganges water, carried on march, 356, 364. functal rites on the, 315.

- account of river, 453 N.

- discharge contrasted with that of the Nile, 45%.

Gassendi (Pierre), teacher of Bernier,

XX. L Garani (Barani), wife of Siva, 342. Genick (Gamerk), son of Siva, 342.

Gentile (Gentiles, Gentoos), 3 m. Gentiles burn their dead, 315.

- believe in transmigration of souls, 326; respect for animal life, ile,; daily prayers and ablations of, 327; Trinity of, 328, 329 M, 330; doctrines. of, 330-334-

Geography, knowledge of, among

Hindoos, 340.

Ghee, method of preparing, 415 m; export of, 440 m.

Gilles, Personne de Roberval, French

mathematician, 301 m.

Gion-kan (Malik Jitom Ayrib), terdtory of, 95 m; receives Dark, 96; makes him and his son prisoners, 96 n. 20: receives title of Bakhtiyar Khan, 99 H; assessinated, 104

Girolamo Cardan, mathematician, 319

Gladatone (Right Hon, W. E.), quoted on education in Greek, 158 w.

Goa, doctors of, 338 m.

Gold in India, quantity and use of, 223, Gold absorption in India, note on, 473

Golkonda, coluage of, to bear the arms of Shah-lahan, 21.

- kingstom of, preserves its independence, 193, 194, 208; pays tribute, 194; practically roled by Aurangreb. 195; debased colonge of, 196.

Queen of, accused of immorality,

197.

Gondar (Guenaar), capital of Abysijms, Gatel-Kané (Ghusi Khimak) bath room,

265 and w; private audiences held in 16., 266 ask W.

Goul-tchen-rat (Gultham Rat), 340 n.

Goursche (Gures), town of, 420. General Perdant (Gurz-burdar), macebearers, 263, 267; attend on Mogol,

Course-Berdary, courless with maces, 371; assist in hunting, 378.

Goute, dow in Egypt called, 450, 451 ;

disease caused by, so. Governments sold openly in India,

Persia, and Turkey, 230-232-Grand Bakchis (Mir Bakaras), title of, conferred on Mahmet-Emir-Khan,

171 and at

Grand Prevost de la campagne," 188 m. Great Mogol, a Mahometan of the sect of the Soimnya, 20S; a descendant of Tamerlane, 209; armles of, 200; cavalry of, 211.

- horsemen in army of, 216, 217; foot soldlers of, 217, 219; artillery of, 217, 218; provincial army of, 218, 219; camp followers of army of, 219,

220.

- horses and elephants of, 221 : seraglio of, 222; Income of, the; officers of state of, 230; court of audience of, 201; receptions held by, 261, 266; procession of unimals and cavalry before, 263, 263; adulation before, 263.

- standard of the, 256 m.

- ceremony of weighing the, 270; large presents to, from Omrahs, 271; repairs to Jama Musjid to pray, 280. - journey of, to Lahore, 350 seg.

- anillery of, 352; tents of, 359, 360, 363, 364; furnishings of tents of, 362; mode of travelling by, 370; field sports of, 374 seg. ; varies direction of entering camp. 382.

- revenues of Provinces of, 436 et sec.; gross revenue of, at various

periods, 459.

- the Koh-i-nur identical with the great diamond of the, 469-471; account of pencock throne of, 471-473-Great seal of Anrangeeb, 125.

Great Tibet, attempted conquest of, by Shah Jahan, 422; embassy from King of, to Auraugueb, 422 seq.

Guarguon, capital of Assam, captured by Mk Jumla, 172.

Guinea-worm caused by impute water,

Gungabal Lake, festival held at, 418 n.

' Gunca Din,' Bibothi (water-carrier). 206 2 ballad of, 207.

Gunarate (Gujeral), revenue of, 456. Gwallor, Dara and his sons confined in. 57 w: Sultan Muhammad confined in, \$1: Murid Bakhah confined in, 85: state prison of, 100 R.

HABECH (Habesh), Arabic name of Allysunia, 2 m.

Halal-khors, sweepers or scavengers,

克1為 10.

INDEX

Haidar Malik, abridgment of Kashmir history by, 393 M. Hakim Daoud, medical attendant on

Shah Soff L. 100 m.

Haond (Oudh), revenue of, 457.

Harvey, discoverer of circulation of the blood, 324 w.

Haryperbet (Harl Forbat), verdant mountain, 398.

Hazmer (Ajmere), revenue of, 456. Hathrial, or Elephant's Gateway, 106 H. Havre, travelling chair of Great Mogol,

370. Hawks kept by Great Mogol, 377 m. Haury, lord of a thousand herse, 212. Heat intense on the march, 385, 389. Herat Hazary, lottl of seven thousand

horse, 210.

Heir, the King sole, of those who die in his service, 163, 164, 165, 167. Hena with black skin, 251 and st.

Himdonston, extent and fertility of, 202; absorption of gold and eliver in, 20%, supplied with copper and spices by Dutch, 203; obtains lead from England, is. ; broadcloths from France, ib. ; horses from Usbec, etc., ib.

fruits imported into, 203, 204; imports shells for money from Maldives, 204 : ambergres from Maldives and Merambique, ie, ; slaves and Ivory from Ethiopia, id.: musk and porcelain from China, ib.: pearls from Fl-Baltrein, st ; destitute of mines, 205; hardships of presentry of, th. ; petty sovereignties of, on Persian frontiers, w.

- quantity and use of gold in, 223. 224; state of arts in, 225; universal ignorance in, zrg; neglect of com-

230, 231,

Hindewston, travelling in, 233; tyranny of governors in, 236; administration of justice in, 236-238; heat in, 240, 241; diseases in, 244; line workmanship in, 254, 255; workmen tyrannised by Omnahs, 256.

Hindoos, superstitious practices of, during an eclipse, 301-303; believed to be caused by an incarnate deity, 303, festival of Juggernaut, 304-306.

- widow barning among the, 306-314. - philosophy of, 337, 338; Ignorant of anatomy, 330; knowledge of astronomy, ib. ; ignorant of geography, 340.

Horses of Tartary, 118 a. - of Great Mogol, 363.

- branding of, 243. Howdah (Arabie handay), note on word, 53 n; used by Murad Baksh, 56 n.

Hunting by the Great Mogul, manner of, 374 mg.

Hyeman (Femen), embassy from King of, to Aurangreb, 133.

INDIA, Muhammadanism never thoroughly established in, 40 n.

- Southern, united under Rampas, 192. - periodical rains in, 431 of res.

- regularity of currents of sea and winds of, 434 see. (See Hindoustan.) Lenac Commenus, King of Cyprus, 105 M.

JACHEN (Yashm), Jade, 298, 422 n, 426. Jafer-kan (fafar Khan), Prime Minister to Aurangaeb, 271 m.

- appointed Governor of Scioile, 186 and a.

Jagannat (Juggrenaut), the feetival of, 304, 305, 306,

- revenue of, 457.

Jak-ghirt, lands assigned to Omrahs for salary, 213; meaning of, 224.

Janushar (Yama-dhara), or dagger, 07 ft.

Janguis (Jogi, Vego), religious sect. 316 and m, 319.

Johan-Abad, near Debli, built by Shah Jahan, 241. Ser Dehli, occount of the city of.

- revenue of, 456.

merce, th. : sale of governorships in, | Jehan-Guyre (Jáhángír), 'Conqueror of the World, 3, 3

> - allows Portuguese to settle at Húghll, 176.

> - allows Europeans free access to palace, 274.

- favours Christianity, 287, 258, - animals hunted by, 179 st.

- death of, 401 m.

Jelapeur (Jahllpur Nahir), town of, 292 M.

Jemel (Raja Jaimal) of Chittor, statue

of, in Dehli, 236, 257.

Jesseingue (Rdjá fai Singà I.), Counsellor to Sulaiman Shikuh, 34 and w, 35; referred to 71; bribed by Asrangreb, 72, 73; gains over Jessomseinque to Aurangreb's side, 86.

- intrigues with Raja Katche against

Dara, 91.

- takes command of anny in Deccan,

190; dies at Burhanpur, 191.

Jessomseingue (Rájá Januant Singh). See Maharaja Jaswant Singh; defeat of, at Narlada, 39; disowned by his wife in consequence, 40, 41; referred 10, 74,

- plunders baggage of Aurangzeb's rear guard, 76; raises strong array, 85; gained over to Auranguels, 86.

- recalled from Deccan, 183. Jesuits in Agra, 286; invited there and maintained by Akbar, 286, 287; oppressed by Shah Jahan, 287 and a favoured by Jahanger, 287, 289; missions of, 2Sq, 200 sec.

- in Bengal, 439.

lews in China, first settlement of, 420 m; in Kashmir, 430; in Cochin, 431 M. Inclum river, Kashmir, 390, 397 m.

Malas, rope-suspension bridges of Tibes,

Jourhand (Yarhand), town of, 42%. Jone, Bernier's birthplace regimered in archives of parish of, aix.

KACHEB (Persian for Karyupa), son of Manchi, 393 m.

Alacherner, account of kingdom of, 426

Kachemire (Kashmir), Dianet - Kas appointed governor of, 180; native histories of, ib.

Kachemire, entry of Autangach into, 391; account of, 393 et say, ; earthquakes in, 305 m.; mountains of 396; snimals of, it; rivers of, ib.; capital of, 397; fraits of, ib.; poets of, 401.

shawl and art industries of, 402, 403; form and complexion of people of, 401, 405; trees and plants of, 400 : tribute of districts of, 419, 420 : carayan routes from, to Katay, 425, 426 ; Jews In, 430, 431 W.

- revenue of, 457.

Amir or Judges, 225, 257, 263.

Kadjollé (Khajila), battle between Aurangzeb and Sultan Sujah at, 75-

Kaban (Khaban), Chinese Mongol

title, 430 m.

Kallane (Káliáni), besieged by Mír Jumla, 24, 28.

Kalll-ullah-Kan slaughters governor and garrison of Tata-bakur, 104. - appointed governor of Lahore,

136. Kalis (Khal) inlet of sea or river,

Kainet-kand, place of privy council,

Kamarans (Kameran), Island of, 454.

Kanates (Khanate) folding screens, 350 and M. 361, 360.

Kundahar, captures and sieges of, 184,

Nanesaman (Khansaman) Grand Chamberlain,' 186.

Karguair (Khargids), folding tents, 359 при и. 360.

Kar-kanays (Kharkhanahi) anisan's workshops, 258 n, 259.

Karnates (Kamatic), Le Royaume de,

Karmaniara of Dehli, account of, 280,

Alaravan-Serrake in India, 233. Kasem-Kan (Namab Karim Ahan Jamini), 37 m; files from field at battle near the Narbada, 39.

Kar-kanayr, rooms formed of odorifer-

oue roots, 247 and a.

Katay, caravan routes from Kashmir to, 425, 426; the use of the name, 427 M.

Kause (Arab. Kakma), coffee, 364 m. A'arin/ (A'hanima), treasury, 455-Alemehens, dancing girls, 273, 274.

Kettle-drums (makaraka), presented to Abvoicia embassy, 130 and a.

Khafi Khan, historian, quoted, 10 w, 28 n, 36 m, 37 n, 39 n, 48 n, 52 n, 54 m, 56 m, 87 m, 91 m, 102 m, 103 m; on mock trial of Murad Bakhsh, ros u.

on correspondence between Aurangzeb and Shah Jahan, 166 n.

Khas Mahal, tower in Seraglio of Dehli, 268 and n.

Kichery (Kedgeree), native dish, 152 m. - how prepared, 481.

Kichmiches (Kirkmuch). raisins, 119 and w.

Koost-ean, muster-master of cavalry,

Koh-i-nur diamond presented to Shah-

fahan, 32 and M. --- identical with the 'Great Mogul'

diamond, 409-471. Kota Kotub-edding (Koh-i-Kutab-mi-

din), temple of, 283 and n. Averate, whip used by Omraha, 228,

252, 256. Kord-winars, between Dehli and Agra,

BSA TE. Koullys (Tamil huli), robber peasantry, 88, 89 m; assail Dárá, 91.

Kenrour (Hind Karer), a hundred Lacks, 456.

Keurs, insignia of royalty, 266 and st.

Lands, polyandry in, 421 st.

Lahore, church at, destroyed by Shih Jabán, 177, 287.

- Kalifullah-Kan, appointed governor of, 186.

Lahor (Lahore), Aurangaeb's journey 10. 350 ter. 1 distance from Dehli,

358. situation and description of, 353, 384.

- revenue of, 456.

Lanks Island, stone with Persian inscription found on, 416 m; morque on, 417 m.

Lapis lazuli, 115 n.

Lasker-Kan, appointed governor of Patsa, 186.

Lecous (Hind. Lakk), a hundred thou- | Maturas (Mathura, Muttra), city of, 66 cand tupees, 456.

*Lemonade 'used in Dehli, 253 and m. Longue-cherire, doctrine of, 344 and w. Licence to Hernier to print and sell his Travels, 461.

Lion hunting, by Great Mogul, 378,

Little Tibet invaded by Shah Jahan, 421. Lord, Henry, Anglican chaplain at Surat, 333 W.

Laukaya (Lohria), town in Arabia,

454 and #.

Louvre, Paris, completion of, 286 n. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, quoted, 314, 315 11.

Lanar-Rainbow witnessed by Bernier. 444, 445,

Lynx employed in the chase, 375 w.

MACHATE, Masente (Musent), chief town of Omap, 73 n.

Maclagan (E. D.), on use of precious metals in India, 474 seg.

Makabarata, shield with story of the,

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, of Jodhpur, 7 4. 37 4.

Mahmet Emir-kan, Mir Jumia's son, retained at Agra by Aurangzeb, So. - created Grand Master of Horse 171; befriended by Aurangreb, 173.

Malada (Malwa), revenue of, 457. Mangues (Mangoes), esteemed in India, 240; origin of name, to. w.

Maniron (Maniron-i-Chini). drug, 426 m.

Manselviars (Mansabdárs), commanders, 59 n.

- paid horsemen in service of Mogol, 211, 215; pay of, 215.

- evening salutation of King by, 266; attend on Mogol to the Mosque, 280; in aquare of Delhi, 282.

-tents of, 367; accompany Mogol on march, 371.

Materili (Mahd-truisya), total distolution, 347 and m. Ser Pralea.

Marshal Turenne, 55 and a.

Mascarenhas (Dom Philippe de), Viceroy of Goz, 17, 18 m.

Massipatam (Massifeatam), "Fishtown," III M.

and w.

- ancient temple at, 284. Mausoleums of Akbar and Taj Mahal at

Agra, 203, 204. Mecca, Kabah of, 135 N.

Mehaden (Mahd-Deca), Siva, 342. Mehale or Seraglio, fairs held in the,

272 and m, 273.

Melons highly esteemed in India, 249. Merveilles, Bernler's first letter to Monsieur de, 350-357; second letter to, 358-382

- third letter to, 383, 384; fourth letter, 385; fifth letter, 386, 387; sixth letter, 388; seventh letter, 389; eighth letter, 390, 391; ninth letter,

Mikileother (Meghelambhar), travelling litter of Great Magol, 370; used by Raushan Ard Begum, 372.

Mir-baba, watches Dára, 71; besieges fortress of Tata-bakar, 03.

 appointed governor of Elabas, 186. Mir-Kan appointed governor of Caboul,

Mir-manuel (Grand Quartermaster). duties of, 365.

Mir Shikde, 'Grand Master of the Hunt, 182 m.

Mir-ul-Omrah, title of, conferred on Mir Jumla, 171; conferred on Shaista Khan, 174.

Mirobolans (Myrobalans), dired fruits, 438 and w.

Mirza Rajá, Set Jesseingue, 34. Mirza-Zulhermin embraces Christianity, 287.

Magniere (Monghyr), town of, 80 m. Mohabet-Kan, governor of Caboul, 73,

appointed governor of Gujerat, 183.

Mohar gold piece, note on a two handred, 476, 477.

Mohurs called Gold Roupier, 60 m.

Maisson du vent, 100 m. Moke, slave-market of, 136.

Monceaux the younger (M. de), letter from to H[enry] Ofuldinburgh concerning Bernier's book, xllx-Ji.

Mondas Parck, Gentile broker at Surat, 150 M.

Monsoon wind of India, 436.

Morad-Bakehe (Munid Bakkik), son of Great Mogol, 5 w, to, II; appointed governor of Gujerat, 15 : unites with Aurangaeb, 27, 28; instructed in mining by Dutch, 31.

wounded at battle of Samugath, 51; kills Raja Ram Singh Rautela,

52 : atrives at Agra, 60.

- advised to stay at Agra, 66 : plot against by Aurangreh, 66-67 : made a prisoner, 68; confined in an embary (amari), 69; imprisoned to Sallmghar, 69.

- imprisoned a Gwallor, 85; fetters of, tos #; mock trial and execution

of, tos. Mosque, the Jama Massid, account of,

228 seq. Mothe le Vayer, letter from Bernier to,

239-299-Moultan, revenue of, 457-

Muhammadanism, principal sects of, S. - never thoroughly established in India, 40 m.

a pernicions belief, 291.

Muhammadans firmly believe in their ductrines, 290, 291; respect of, for Christ, 289.

Muhrattib-i-mahi, insignia of the fish,

266 NL

Mullah Sale, teacher of Aurangzeb, reception of, by Aurangaeb, 134; Mullah Shah, spiritual guide of Dira,

154 M. Mumide Mahal, daughter of Asaf Khan,

- wife of Shah Jahan, 465 m. Murat (Chodja Morsad), a Christian merchant, 134, 135, 130, 140.

NADIEA, daughter of Sultan Parwez married to Dára Shikoh, 57 m.

- 103 M.

Napar-Kanay (Nakárah khunah), drum room, 260 m.

Nagar-kané (Nahirak khanak), tent for trumpets, 303 and m.

Nasque (Naik, Skt. mopaks), a leader, 103 M.

Nazer, a slave, murders Dara, 101, 102,

Nassikan, Persian steward of Begum

Saheb, poisoned by Shah-Jahan, 13.

Neik-nam-Kan evades the King becoming his herr, 164, 164, Nejabatkan cashiered by Aurangreb.

186, 187,

Nejam-Chah (Nisam Shah) conquered

by Mogol, 193 and m.

Nerbudda (Narbadd) River, 37 #: battle fought at, 38, 39; eiver ranks second to Canges in religious sanctity, 42 M.

Nile, source of the, 141, 142.

- account of periodical tising of the, 446 seg. ; low water discharge of contrasted with that of the Ganges, 453 11.

Nil-ghaus (Nilgan) blue cow, 364 and wa manner of hunting, 377. 378

Nour-Jehan Begum (Nur Jakan Begum). wife of Jahrangir, 3-

Nour-Mehalle (Nar Makai), wife of Jahangir, 5

- 465 M.

Nur-i-chasm waterfull in Kashmir, 407 and M.

Occurs (Halghli), Portuguese settlement at, 176 and M.

Oldenburg (Ouldinburgh), Henry, first English translator of Bernier, notice DE. 477. 476.

Omrah (Umard), plural of Arabic Amer, 4 11.

Omrahs, names assumed by, 6. - unite with Aurangreb, 65; in-

comes of, ib.

- in service of Mogol, 210, 211-215; military grades of, 212; pay of, 213; splendour of, 214; ornaments of, 224. - attend on King twice daily, 265,

266.

- ceremony of weighing the, 2701 large presents from, to Mogol, 271; attend Mogol to Mosque, 230.

- tents of the, 300; manner of travelling of, 371; present purse to Mogol on entering moup, 382

Ormuz (Ormus), captured by Persians and English, 180 s.

O[uldinburgh], H[exry], Letter to, from M. de Monceaux, the Younger, con-cerning Bernier's book, xlix-liOxindon (Sir George), chief of English | Pipii (Pippli), Port on Orissa coast, 443. Factory at, 182 #.

PADRE, name applied to Roman priests, 323 M.

Pagyr, lackeys or footmen, 373 and w.

Pain de tionette, 230 and n. Painting in India, ideas regarding, 255

and st. Paleky (Fd/kl), a palanquin, 14 n.

Pulaly of King, 214.

- used by ladies of Seraglio, 372.

- used by Omeahs, 253.

Paranda (Purandhar), sanitarium for European troops, 192 and n; fort surrendered to Mogul, 197 and st.

Patan (Ledi Pathin) dynasty of Delhi,

21 8. 94.

Patana of India, Race of, 200, 207 and

a. 210, 211, 223.

Patequer (Arab. al-battick), watermelons, 250 and M.

Patna, Lasker-Kan appointed governor of, 186.

- revenue of, 457. Procock throne of the Great Mogol,

account of, 471-475-

Peasantry of India, slavery of, 225, 225. Pecquet, famous French anatomist, 324 M.

Pegu, cruelties of Brama of, 234 and n,

Priche-lanes (Pairk-thomas), double set of tents, 359 and w, 360, 366, 368.

Peking, Jews in, 429, 430.

Pelan (Pers. Palae), a Mahammadan dish. 121 m.

Fendets (Puntits), 337, 338, 341, 342, Penge Havary, lond of five thousand horse, 212, 215.

Persia, embassy from, to Aurangreb, 146, 147; presents of, to Aurangueb,

T47, 145.

- contemptuous speeches of Aminasador of, to Shah Jahan, 151-153. governments sold openly in, 232.

Philosophy of the Hindoos, 160.

- 337, 338.

Philosophy, schools of, in India, 336 DOG M.

Physic, Hipdoo books on, 338. Pinyuedens (Hind. pik-din), a spitoon, 214 and m. See Piquedans.

Planedaus (Hindi sik-dan), spitoons, use of, 283. Pire-penjale (Fir Panjál), mountain

pass, accident at, 407, 408; Fakir on, 409, 410; meaning of name Pir Panidl, 400 m.

Pistole, value of a, 271 p.

Plie (Plica Polonica), disease called, 316. Polla (Raja Petti), statue of, in Debli, 356, 357.

Polyandry in Ladak, 421 m. Polygamy in Eshiopia, 142, 143-

Portuguese Missionaries favoured by Suiter Sujah, S2.

Portuguese purchase slaves from pirates of Chitragong, 176.

Pouct, poison administered to princes in state prisons, tob, 107 m.

Prayma (Furgana), a tract of country,

Protos (Pratoya), 347 and m. Manerle.

Prester John, and the river Nile, 449m. Prince Condé (Louis de Bourbon), 55

Purandhar, sanitarium for European troops, 1921 fort surrendered to Mogul, 197 #.

Puraus (Fundacas), religious books, 335 11, 330.

RACH (Rabidasas), giants, 330 m.

Rage-Mehalle (Rd/madal), town occapied by Sultan Sajah, St : abandoned, Sa; Mir Jumia in winter quarters at,

Ragipous (Rajputa), devotion of to Jaswant Singh, 39; meaning of the name, rd. ; accustomed to the use of opium, 30 : bravery of, in battle, 40 : custom of ancieting their faces and hands with turmeric, 52 st.

- military occupation of hereditary, 208; in Mogol army, 200, 210.

Rains in India, account of periodical, 431 200.

Rajas, power and riches of the, 208.

Rakan. See Amean.

A'amayana, shield bearing the story of 254 FL

Ram-guyre (Ramgiri) fortress of, 22 n. Ram-ras, King of Southern India, 193Ramseingue Routlé (Rájá Rám Singh | Rautela), commander in army of Dárá at Samúgarh, 48; killed by Murád Bakhsh, 51, 52.

Rana Sanga, 'Emperor of the Rajas,' 208. Rantipore (Ranthambhor), state prison

of, 107 #.

Ratan Mountains and Pass, 406 n. Rau (Rohú), river fish resembling carp,

252 and n.

Rauchenara-Begum (Raushan-Ará-Begum), daughter of Great Mogol, 5, 14; informs Aurangzeb of plots against him, 65; urges Dárá's being put to death, 100.

illicit amours of, 132, 133.

- ambition of, 351.

- mode of travelling of, 372, 373. Rays (Arab. rāis), captain of a boat,

451; an overflow of Nile, 452. Revenues of Provinces of Great Mogul,

456 seq.

Rivers, commonly without bridges, 380. Roa (Father Heinrich Roth), Jesuit missionary, 329 n, 330.

Roger, Abraham, first Dutch chaplain

at Pulicat, 334 n.

Rosewater, cases of, presented to

Aurangzeb, 147.

Rotas (Rohtdsgarh), state prison of, 107n. Roupie (Rupee), value of a, 200 n, 223 n, 269 n, 455.

Rouzindars, paid cavalry in service of Mogul, 211, 215, 216; different

duties of, 216.

Rustám-Kan Dakny (Dakhani), commands Dárá's left wing at Samúgarh, 48; killed in the battle, 51.

Sadullah-Kan (Sadullah Khan), Vizier,

death of, 23.

Sahet, also Saiet (Arabic sa'id), ceremony of, 161 and n, 163, 244.

Saltpetre used for cooling water, 356, 357, 364.

- export from Bengal, 440 and n; in the soil, said to cause intense cold

in Tartary, 450 11. Samarcande (Samarkand), city and

colleges of, 119 n.

Samonguer (Samilgarh), battle between Dárá and Aurangzeb at, 49.54.

Sanskrit studied by Jesuit missionaries, 329 n, 330; books written in, 335, 341.

San Thome (St. Thomas' Mount) Portuguese settlement at, 196.

495

Santon, Moslem religious sect, 316 n. Sardesmukhi, tax levied by Marathas,

Sarmet, Fakir named, decapitated by

Aurangzeb, 317. Sarr-i-Asrar, Persian translation of

Upanishads, 323 n. Sayurghal, lands given for benevolent

purposes, 374 %.

Scales, insignia of the, 267 n. Schall (Father Johann Adam), German

Jesuit in Peking, 429 n. Scindy (Scinde), Jáfar Khán appointed

governor of, 186 and n.

Sea in the Indies, regularity of currents 01. 434 509.

Sebastian Gonzales Tibao, chief of Chittagong pirates, 17S and n.

Sekander Filifous (Alexander the Great),

Selim-guer (Salim-ghar), Murad Bakhsh confined in, 69.

Send-brary (Sandrahan), sacred spring of, 411, 412, 414.

Sengsafed (Sang-i-safaid), 'Whitestone,' 418 1, 419.

Sepe-Chekouh (Sipihr Shikoh), son of Dárá, 96 n, 97: conducted with Dárá through streets of Delhi in disgrace, 98, 99; poisoned, 107.

Seraglio at Delhi, account of the, 267. ___ fairs held in the, 272 and n, 273.

- modes of travelling by ladies of the, 371, 272; penalty for approaching

too near, 373, 374. Seraphas (Sar-o-pa), robes of honour,

So n, 118, 120.

- presented to Abyssinian embassy, 138, 139; presented to Persian embassy, 147, 149.

Serenaguer (Srinagar), mountains of,

59 and n; 60, 92. Serkar (Sirkar), exchequer of King's

income, 455. Serrafs (Arab. sarraf), money-changers,

Seva-Gi (Sivaji), founder of the Mar-

átha power, 136 n.

- attempts to seize Shaista Khan, 187; plunders Surat, 188; beaten off by English and Dutch, 189; tortures a Tew, 190; created a Rájá by Aurang- | zeb, 190; escapes from Delhi, 190, 101 and n.

- captures strongholds in Golkonda.

197, 198 and n.

Shahin, name for the 'Royal Falcon,' 47 12.

Shawls of Kashmir, 403 n.

Shields in metal repoussé work, made by native workmen, bearing scenes from Indian history, 254, 255.

'Shoebeating,' the indignity of, 53 and n. Siam, coming of age of Heir Apparent

of, 224 n.

Silk in Bengal, 439.

Silver absorption in India, note on, 473

Sing-ala, a fish resembling pike, 252 and #.

Slaves captured by pirates of Chitta-

gong, 175, 176.

Soliman-Chekouh (Sulaimán Shikoh), Dárá's eldest son, commands army against Sultan Sujah, 34; gains victory, 35, 36; returns to capital, 35;

referred to, 43, 45, 57.

- seeks safety in Srinagar, 59, 60; given up by Rájá to Aurangzeb, 59 n, 105; threatens Aurangzeb from Srinagar, 92, 93; brought before Aurang, zeb, 105, 106; poisoned by poppies,

Someire (Su-meru), the Golden Meru,

Sondiva (Sundeet, Sandwip), at mouth

of Ganges, 178 n.

Sonnar negroes on overflow of Nile, 452. Soubah (Arab. Subah), a province, 455. Soufra (Sufra) tablecloth, 353 and n. Soulys, religious sect of, 320 and n. Sounnys, Mahometan sect of, 20S, 211.

Sourai, tin flagon for water, 356. Sourate(Surat), besieged by Chah-Abas, 28; ransom of, 28 n; surrender of,

30, 31; treasure found in, 31.

- pillaged by Sivaji, 136, 137. Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, 397 n, 398. St. Barthélemy, Paris, Bernier's death in register of burials in church of, xxi. State prisons of the Great Mogol, 106,

107 12.

Suakin (Sawikin), port on Red Sea, 2 n. Sufism, doctrines of, 345 n, 346, 348.

Sultan Banque sent on mission to King of Arakan, 109; made prisoner, 111, 112; plots against King of Arakan, 114, beheaded, 115.

Sultan Ekbar (Akbar), son of Aurang-

zeb, 124, 126.

- preceptor for, etc., 144 and n.

Sultan Mahmoud (Sultan Muhammad), son of Aurangzeb, married to King of Golkonda's daughter, 21; sent on mission to Mir Jumla, 28; seizes fortress of Agra, 61, 62.

- sent against Sultan Sujah, 79, 80; deserts from Rajmahál, 82, 83; im-

prisoned in Gwalior, 83 n.

- still in Gwalior, 182. Sultan Mazum (Mu'azzam), successfully conducts mission to Mir Jumla, 28 n. - second son of Aurangzeb, 84, 85

and n.

- intrigues against Aurangzeb, 124. - kills a dangerous lion, 182, 183; made govenor of the Deccan, 183.

Sultan Sujah (Shujúh), son of Great Mogol, 5 11, 7 et seq.; appointed governor of Bengal, 15; takes the field against his brothers, 26.

- defeat of, at Ilahbas, 35, 36. - deseated at Khajúa, 75-78.

- pursuedto Rájmahál, SI; abandons that place, 82; conciliates the Portuguese, 82; activity of, in Bengal, 92.

- flies to Decca, 109; departs with his family to Moka, ib.; detained by King of Arakan, 110; plots to escape, 111, 112; conflicting rumours anent, 112-114.

- robbed by pirates, 179.

Sundarbans, desolated tracts in Bengal, 442 n, 446 n, 452 n.

Surat plundered by Sivaji, 188; English factory at, 189 n; pilgrims embark from, for Mecca, 190 n.

TACK-RAVEN (Tukht-i-rawan), travelling throne, 128 and n.

- travelling throne, 214.

- travelling throne of Mogol, 370. Tage Mehalle (Taj Mehál), wife of Sháh

Jahán, 5. - exasperates Sháh Jahán against Jesuits, 287 n; tomb of, at Agra, 293 seq.

Takarrub-Kan, See Hakim Daoud. Tulab (Take), artificial pond, 75 m. Talengand (Telingina), revenue of, 458. Tameelan (Amir Timur), 3 m. Tanaiste (Thaneswar), holy tank at, and m.

Tanameri (Tenamerim), Lower Burmah, 20 T. M.

Tandar, portable stove, 387.

Taptaga agent of Mahmet-Emir-Kan in Golkonda, 195.

Farbiet-Kan (Shaff-ulldh Khalu), ambassador to Percia, 185 and w.

Tarrary, great cold of, attributed to salpetre in the soil, 450 st.

Tastim (Tattim), szintation of, 214 and m. - performance of, for meals and presents, 258 and N, 262.

Taia, revenue of, 457.

Tatabakar, fortress of, 71; besieged by Mir-baba, 93; surrenders, 104; governor and garrison of, slaughtered, ich.

Tavernier journeys with Bernier, 113 m. Tavernier's account of the Koh-i-nur diamond, 470; account of Peacock

Throne, 471-473-Schaudeules (chaudals), carriages of

Seroglio, 371, 372. Tehaney-Kand (chanki-khanah), guard

tent, 363 and w. Tchembel (Chumbul), the river, 46. Tchenau (Chinab), river crossed by

Bernier, 386.

Tents of Great Mogol, 359, 360, 363, 364 : furnishings of, 362; tents of Omrahs and Rajas, 366; of Mansebdars, 307.

Thomas (Edward), on revenue of Great Mogol, 458 169.

Throne of the Great Mogul, 268, 269, and M.

- account of Peacock, 471-473-Tabet, Ruddhists seets of, 423 m. Timar, Timariets, holders of land, 224, 225, 227, 230.

Topaz of the Great Mogul, 268 and n. Tourns (Pers. turrek), fringes of gold lace, 224 and M.

'Tragedy of Aureng-sebe,' Dryden's, 465-469.

Translator of first English edition of Bernier, notice of, 477, 478.

Trees planted by direction of the astrolowers of Shah Abbas of Persia, 162,

Truckemens (Dragonnans), interpreters,

Trumpets (Aurands), presented Abyssinian embassy, 139 and m.

Turkey, governments sold openly in. 241, 232; low condition of, 234.

Turquoises of the old rock, 145 m. This 'shawl goat' of Kashmir, 403 m,

Tutucoury (Tuticoria), scaport in Madras Presidency, 204 n.

Usuac Tarrans send embassy to Aurangreb, 116 et seq.; manners and Eustoma of, 120-123.

VAKEA-NEVIS (Pers. Whit ahnawis), a newswriter, 231 and m.

Val-de-Grice, Paris, dome of, 297 st. Varada (Berar), revenue of, 457.

Vedus. See Belks.

Vernag, royal gardens of, 413 m, 414. Visapour (Bijdenr), Moslem state, 22 W. 24.

- account of kingdom of, 196, 197; at perpetual war with the Mogol, 207, 208; aided by king of Golkonda, 208.

WEAPONS of army of Dará at battle of Samúgarh, 47, 48.

Widow-burning among the Hindoos,

account of, 306-314

- buried alive by Brahmins, 315. William of Germany, Emperor, speech on classical education by, 157 n.

Winds in the Indies, regularity of, 434, of may

Wine brought to India, 252, 253-Wines used in Bengal, 441.

Worms in legs caused by impure water in Dehll, 355. See Guines-worm.

Wulat Lake, Kashmir, visited by Bernier, 410.

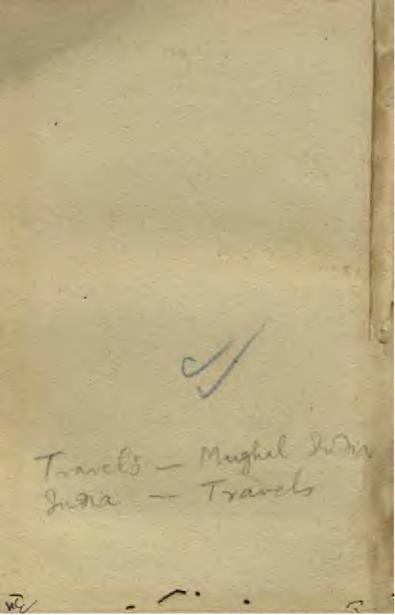
YAKASPAH (one horse), trooper, pay of, 217 16,

ZAHER-KAN (Sher Alaten Sale), king of the Patnes, 71 a.

Zambúray, camel swivel guns, 47 n. Zebra presented to Aurangreb, 135: skin of, promised to Bernier, 144.







Central Archaeological Library, NEW DELHI. Call No. 910.40954023 Bor Con. Author-Bernier, F Title-ul Empire. Borrower No. Date of Issue Date of Return Reelyl4 12778-7/9/78 I-CHRLDERY 29-11-79 9/1/8-8